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# HISTORY

OF THE

22nd  
Twenty-Second Regiment

OF THE

NATIONAL GUARD OF THE STATE OF

NEW YORK

From its Organization to 1895

BY

GENERAL GEORGE W. WINGATE

Pl. 1



NEW YORK :

EDWIN W. DAYTON, PUBLISHER AND BOOKSELLER,  
641 MADISON AVENUE.

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Wingate, George Wood, 1840-

History of the Twenty-second regi-  
ment of the National guard of the  
state of New York from its organiza-  
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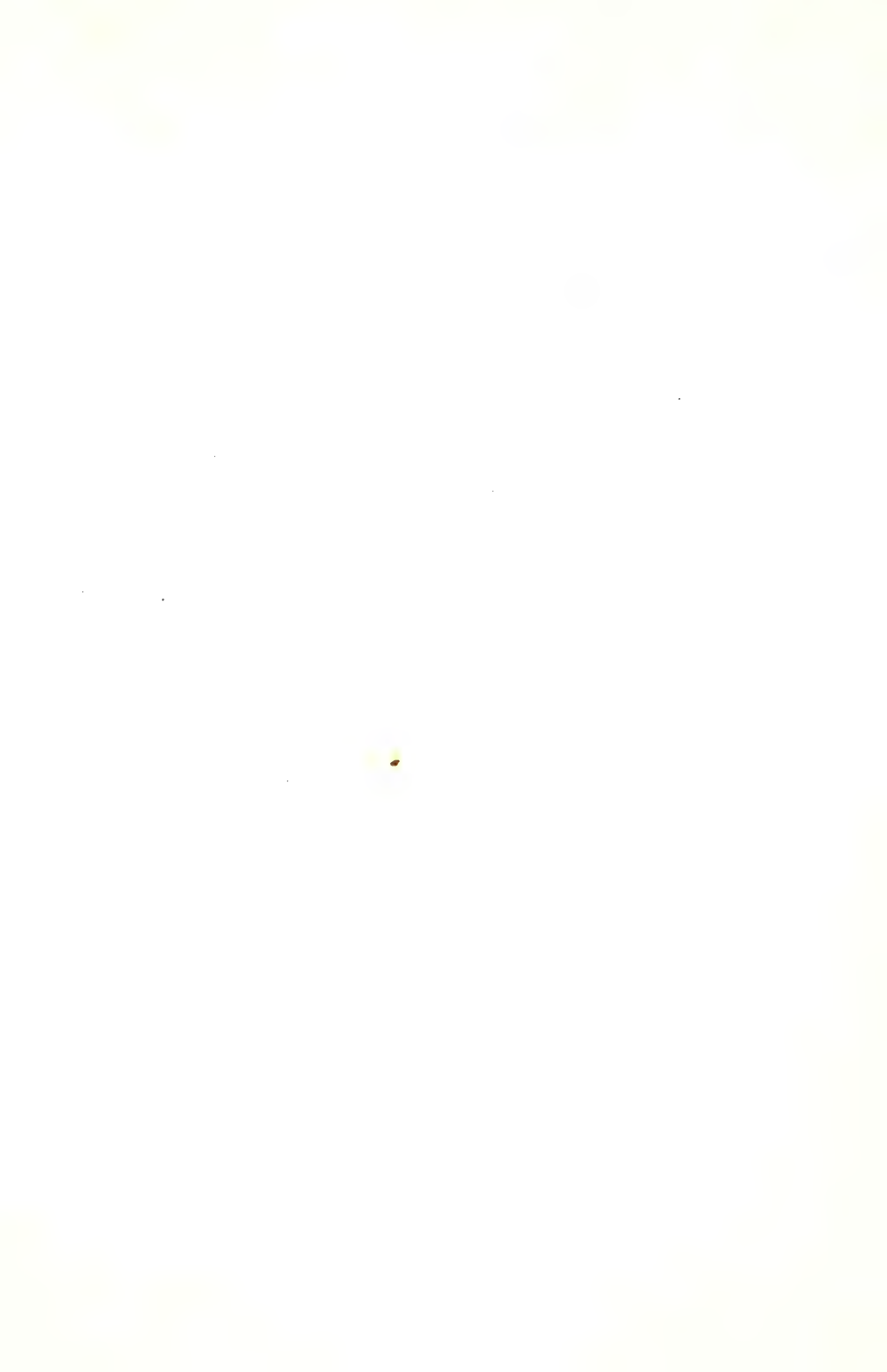




STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.



THE LATE ADJUTANT-GENERAL JOSIAH PORTER.



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CHAS. FRANCIS, 30-32 WEST 13TH ST.  
NEW YORK CITY



# CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND . . . . .	PAGE 1
---	-----------

Banks and insurance companies decide to organize brigade of Union Grays; committee's advertisement and meeting for organization May 31, 1861, 1; civil officers elected, 2; honorary members of Union Grays, 3; resolutions appointing associate committee from banks and insurance companies, 3; standing committees appointed, 4; amount subscribed, 5; James Monroe selected as colonel, 5. Company A—Its organization and its first officers, 6; its armory on Sixth Avenue, 9; its first company order, 9. Company B—Organized from Federal Chasseurs and joins the Twenty-second, November, 11, 1861, 10; its first armory and officers, 11. Company C—Organized May 13, 1862, 11; its first officers and armory, 11. Company D—Organized from different banks, 11; its armory and first officers, 12. Company E—Organization, armory and first officers, 12; disbanded in 1863, and reorganized in 1868, 12. Company F—Organized January 8, 1862, 13; its first armory and officers, 13. Company G—Organized from White Ball Club, 13; its first officers, 14; becomes "City Cadets," 14; joins Union Grays, 14. Company H—Organized from White Ball Club, 15; drilled as flank company to act as skirmishers, 15; its first officers and armory, 15. Company I—Organized upon the departure of the regiment, June, 1862, 15; its first officers and armory, 15 (see also Chap. IV., page 36). Company K—Organized February, 1863, from "Lindsay Blues," 16; its first officers, 16; first general order issued to Twenty-second, 16; first parade of the Twenty-second, 17; strength of companies April 1, 1862, 18.

## CHAPTER II.

FIRST UNIFORMS, ARMS AND OFFICERS . . . . .	19
---	----

The "Strawberry Gray" uniform, 19; Enfield rifles imported by the regiment, 20; sword bayonets not admired, 20; regimental headquarters procured in Fourth Street, 21; Col. James Monroe, description of, 21; companies' drill three times a week, 22; thorough course of instruction prescribed by Col. Monroe, 22; regiment joins the State National Guard, 23; officers of Twenty-second at this date, 24; how the National Guard was managed in 1861, 26; changes made by Gen. Shaler in 1868, 27.





## CHAPTER III.

	PAGE
THE FIRST CALL TO THE FIELD . . . . .	23

Retreat of Banks in the Shenandoah Valley, 28; excitement in Baltimore, 29; New York State Militia ordered to Washington except the Twenty-second, 30; its Board of Officers demand that regiment be sent forward, 30; order directing regiment to proceed to Washington, 31; Col. Monroe's orders for the field, 32-33.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE DEPARTURE FOR BALTIMORE . . . . .	34
---------------------------------------	----

Regiment forms in Lafayette Place, May 28, 1862, 34; scenes during the assembly, 34; great enthusiasm during the march, 35; Company I is organized and follows the regiment the next day, 36; roll of the officers in the campaign of 1862, 36; officers not accompanying the regiment decided to forfeit their commissions, 38; list of regiments sent by New York State to the front in response to this call, 39; breakfast at the Cooper Shop in Philadelphia, 39; strength of regiment in campaign, 40.

## CHAPTER V.

SERVICE AT BALTIMORE . . . . .	41
--------------------------------	----

Threatening condition of the city, 41; camps of the New York regiments, 41; the Twenty-second establishes "Camp Monroe" at Patterson Park, 42; orders prescribing camp routine, 42; sentries attacked, 44; recruits arrive, 45; crowded condition of tents, 45; difficulty in commissariat during the first week, 46; rainy weather experienced, 46; first rifle practice by regiment, June 30, 1862, 46; industry of the officers, 47; Sanitary Committee presents men with Havelocks; also testaments and hymn-books, 48; dress parades, 48; running the guard, 49; members snubbed by the secessionist ladies, 50; complimented by Maj.-Gen. Dix, 51; mustered into the United States service June 18, 1862, for three months, 52; assisting wounded from McClellan's army, 52; sad appearance that they presented, 52; disgust at the conduct of the funeral services at hospitals, 53.

## CHAPTER VI.

ORDERED TO HARPER'S FERRY . . . . .	54
-------------------------------------	----

Reënforcements called for, to defend Harper's Ferry, 54; Col. Monroe reports the Twenty-second ready to move at once, 54; orders received at midnight, 54; regiment leaves camp at 9.30 A.M., 54; joy of camp followers at the delicacies abandoned in the tents, 54; discomforts and dangers of railroad journey, 55; description of Harper's Ferry, 56; Bolivar Heights, 57; battery on Maryland Heights, 57; marched to camp on Bolivar Heights, 58; order prescribing routine of camp, 59; called to arms at



dawn, 61; regiment removed to Camp Hill, 61; martial law and condition of country, 62; severe orders from War Department against absentees, 63.

## CHAPTER VII.

## HARPER'S FERRY . . . . .

64

Regiments stationed there with the Twenty-second, 64; hours of drill, 64; terrible dust, 67; practical joke on Maryland cavalry causes trouble, 67; target firing practised, 68; bathing and its incidents, 71; tobogganing in Shenandoah Rapids, 73; lime water causes much illness in the regiment, 73; Fourth of July celebrated by athletic games, 74; cartridge boxes required to be kept full, 74; dispute settled as to duties of sentry to obey officer of guard and of the day, 74; inspection by Gen. Wool and his compliments, 75; Gen. Miles the brigade commander, 75; death of Col. James Monroe, July 31, 1862, 70; deep grief of the Twenty-second, 76; the funeral, 76; monument erected by the regiment, 79; Lieut.-Col. Lloyd Aspinwall assumes command, 79; want of confidence first felt in regard to him, 79; he wins the respect of his command, 80; his life and death, 80; gray uniforms sent home, 80; also band, 81; army shoes adopted, 81; detachments sent to guard railroad, 81; picket duty and its incidents, 82; sentries unable to see a fugitive slave, 84; crowds of contrabands in Harper's Ferry, 85; the extreme heat in the day-time, 86; the cold at night, 86; thunder-storms, 89; pleasures of camp life, 90; songs of the War, 90; the practical jokes, 90; pathetic scenes, 92; seizure of smuggled liquor, 94; long sermon by the chaplain, 95; officers elected in the field, 96; the annoyance from the flies, 99; the absence of small change, 100.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## AN ATTACK THREATENED . . . . .

103

The men required to sleep in their clothes, 103; prisoners brought in, 103; raids on the railroad and its construction, 103; McGrath's Battery opens on the rebel scouts, 104; officers stake out a star for a camp-fire, 105; Gen. Pope assumes command, 105; the grape-vine telegraph and its reports, 106; the regiment drilled as skirmishers to repel expected attack, 106; loading and firing muzzle-loaders when lying down, 106; a "Union" berry-woman exposed, 107; officers sent on courtmartial duty, 107; ordered under arms, 108; the breastwork on Camp Hill, 111; G Company constructs gun platform in left bastion, 111; fortification badly planned, 112; how it was flanked at capture of Harper's Ferry, 113 (see also detailed account by Col. John Ward of the Twelfth, of the particulars of the attack and capture, appendix, page 635); Twenty-second instructed in artillery, 117; position assigned companies behind breastwork, 117; orders for artillery drill, 117; regiments learn how to do everything with cannon but shoot them, 118; blunder in polishing a brass Napoleon gun, 119; the post reinforced, 120; new regiments utterly ignorant of drill, 120; instructed by non-members of Twenty-second, 120; discipline in Twenty-second compared with that of volunteers, 123.





## CHAPTER IX.

ORDERED HOME . . . . .	PAGE 124
------------------------	-------------

Ordered to return on August 24, 124; service of regiment tendered for ten days additional, 124; difficulty in securing its acceptance, 125; detachment sent to Winchester, 125; its narrow escape, 126; regiment returns and is hospitably treated at Philadelphia, 126; is received by friends at dock in New York, 126; Gov. Seymour's order of thanks, 127; Gen. Hallock's unjust attack on National Guard, 128; its answer by their officer., 129.

## CHAPTER X.

GUARDING SPINOLA'S BRIGADE . . . . .	130
--------------------------------------	-----

What the brigade was, 130; on trials in its camp caused by sale of liquor, 130; Twenty-second ordered to guard brigade Sept. 14, 1862, 131; severity of guard duty, 131; matter exposed in the newspapers, 131; Gen. "Dick" Busted reviews Twenty-second, 132; burlesque account of the review, 133.

## CHAPTER XI.

A NEW COLONEL AND A REGIMENTAL ARMORY . . . . .	137
---	-----

Col. Aspinwall elected colonel without opposition, 137; inspections poorly attended, 137; K Company joins the Twenty-second, making ten companies, 139; State purchases and re-issues its Enfields to the regiment, 139; Palace Garden on Fourteenth Street leased by supervisors for a regimental armory, 140; regiment builds the administration building, 140; Board of Officers first meets in regimental armory May 5, 1863, 141; "Union Grays" abandoned, 141.

## CHAPTER XII.

ORDERED TO PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .	142
-----------------------------------	-----

Preparation for expected field service, 142; President and Secretary of War appeal to Governor of New York for troops, 142; correspondence between Gov. Seymour, Secretary of War, and Gov. Curtin, 143; New York sends 12,000 men immediately, 145; list of regiments sent by New York on this call; no other State has any National Guard, 146; further troops called for, 147.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE DEPARTURE FOR PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .	148
--	-----

Regiment marches June 17, 1863, 148; the duty recognized as most serious, 148; enthusiastic reception in Philadelphia, 149; New York National Guard put under control of its division and brigade commanders, 149; organization of guard at this time, 149; incompetency of brigade and division generals, 150; how the First Division used to be handled on parade, 150; cause of



placing these officers in command, 152; Gen. Wm. F. Ewen and his management of brigade, 153; officers who served in this campaign, 154; strength of the different companies, 156; on the train for Harrisburg, 156.

## CHAPTER XIV.

HARRISBURG . . . . .	158
----------------------	-----

Camp Curtin, 158; the Pennsylvania "emergency men" unorganized and not friendly towards the New York troops, 159; Landis' Battery, 159; its officers and organization, 159; incidents of its first march, 160; impossibility of opposing disciplined troops with raw levies, 162; why was not Harrisburg attacked? 163; Lee held in check by force displayed, 163; delays caused by want of discipline in new troops, 164; Gen. Couch reports to Secretary of War condition of affairs, 164; regiments ordered to Bridgeport, 165; regiments around Harrisburg, 166; Couch had only 250 men when Pennsylvania was invaded, 166; New York N. G. his only organized force, 166; many volunteers at work upon Pittsburg fortifications, but few at those of Harrisburg, 167.

## CHAPTER XV.

IN CAMP ON THE SUSQUEHANNA . . . . .	168
--------------------------------------	-----

The Twenty-second sent down the York road, 168; spends a rainy night in a barn, 168; establishes Camp Cox, 169; extortions practised in Harrisburg on soldiers, 169; reports in New York papers supposed to be sensational and, in fact, accurate, 170; close approach of Confederate troops, 170; Gen. Couch to Secretary Stanton, 171; Gen. Couch to Gen. Hallock, 171; Gen. W. F. Smith to Gen. Couch, 171; Col. Reno reports 18,000 Confederates at Carlisle, 172; bridge across Susquehanna prepared to be burned, 172; roads blocked by swarms of fugitives, 172; Gen. Wm. F. (Baldy) Smith assumes command of all troops across the Susquehanna, 173; furlough members of Twenty-second return from New York to participate in expected battle, 173.

## CHAPTER XVI.

FORTIFYING BRIDGEPORT . . . . .	174
---------------------------------	-----

Enemy reported close at hand, 174; troops required to be ready for an immediate attack, 174; spies fired on while escaping from camp, 174; enemy reported within four miles, 175; regiment digs rifle-pits, 175; builds a large one through the front yard of a "Copperhead" who did not think there were any rebels in the State, 175; fells a hickory grove, 175; detachment from New York joins the regiment, 176; regiment assembles for Sunday services, 177; interrupted by orders to march, 177; Gen. Couch to Secretary Stanton, that enemy is 10,000 strong and has opened with artillery four miles from his defences, 177; Couch's report of details of advance, 177; York occupied by Gen. Early, 177; bridge at Columbia burned, 177; Confederates advance to within



three miles of Harrisburg, 177; Company D Twenty-second ordered to relieve pickets and throw up rifle-pits on York road, 178; Twenty-second leaves its camp, 178; troops in fortifications in readiness for an attack, 179; buildings in front of forts demolished, 179; Lieut. Rand's, of Landis' Battery, account of the preparation in the forts, 179; Company G ordered to the front, 180; other companies proceed to Bridgeport and barricade buildings, engine-houses, etc., 180; different barricades constructed, 180; Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh make a night march to attack rebel advance, 181; work continued on June 19, 183; regimental headquarters under bridge across Susquehanna, 183; left wing makes another night march, 185.

## CHAPTER XVII.

HARRISBURG IN DANGER . . . . . 186

Poor condition of defences, 186; Fort Washington and its equipment, 186; mistakes in management of matters, 187; nervousness of officers, 187; Couch telegraphs Meade that enemy has 25,000 men between Baltimore and Harrisburg, and he has only 15,000 and 9,000 at Harrisburg, 188; Secretary Cameron to President Lincoln, stating dangers of situation, 188; Secretary of War promises medal of honor to the New York troops that have volunteered, 189; promise never kept, 189; Confederates about to attack Harrisburg, 189; Gen. Lee's report, 190; Gen. Elwell reports he was starting to attack Harrisburg on January 29, 190; Gen. Rodas reports that he was ready to attack on 30th, but was ordered to retire, 190; Gen. Meade's circular that officers should address troops upon immense issues involved and authorizing commanders to direct death of any soldier who fails in his duty, 190; apparent want of system around Harrisburg, 191.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

OYSTER POINT . . . . . 192

Twenty second and Thirty-seventh ordered to march with nothing but canteens, 192; gross impropriety of this order, 192; object of march, 193; nothing being found, Gen. Smith returns, 193; alarm given and Gen. Ewen countermarches brigade, 193; fired on when in column, 194; Col. King orders skirmishers to hold wood, 194; details of the action, 194; section of Landis' Battery arrives at a gallop, 195; its accurate firing, 195; this fight marks the most northern point of the Rebellion, 196; friendship established between Twenty-second and Landis' Battery, 197; loss of Confederates, 197; why they did not attack, 197; regiment halted on its way to Bridgeport, 198; its return sent back, 198; sleeps in road without rations or blankets, 198; Gen. Ewen held responsible by the troops, 199; Gen. Couch to Gen. Hallock that rebels were falling back, 199; Gen. Couch to Secretary Stanton that they were uniting, 199; Hallock to Couch to make every possible effort to hold enemy in check on the Susquehanna until Meade can attack, 200.





# STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE, ALBANY, N. Y.

## Contents

XV

### CHAPTER XIX.

#### ADVANCE ON CARLISLE

PAGE  
201

Start at daylight on a breakfast of three crackers, 201; report that Carlisle was evacuated but rebel pickets close to it, 201; beauty of the country, 202; country people feed the passing troops, 202; Pennsylvania regiment attempts to pass column, 203; I Company sent forward, 204; forced march ordered, 204; no rests allowed, 204; the inefficient organization of the column, 205; Gen. Smith disgruntled and poorly supplied, 206; suffering of men from heat and fatigue, 207; want of ambulances, 207; men left where they dropped, 207; brigade arrives at Carlisle only 300 strong out of 1,100, 208; poor management of the march, 208.

### CHAPTER XX.

#### DEFENCE OF CARLISLE

209

Stragglers join the regiment, 209; patriotic reception by citizens of Carlisle, 209; Twenty-second marches two miles south of town to meet expected advance of Confederates, 210; Carlisle attacked from the north, 21; spy tries to deceive Gen. Ewen, 213; Landis' Battery hurries to Carlisle, 214; Gen. Smith's arrival, 215; shells fired into town without notice, 215; Landis' Battery replies, 216; Twenty-second sneaks back, 219; cannon trained on it as it approaches town, 219; condition of affairs found in Carlisle, 220; attacking force commanded by Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, 220; letter to author from Col. T. S. Garnett (A. D. C. to Gen. Stuart) giving details of Confederate movements, 221; previous movements of Stuart, 221; Garnett fired on by skirmishers at Carlisle, 222; sending in flag of truce, 222; firing on the town and burning of the barracks, 223; extracts from Stuart's official report, 223; Gen. Baldy Smith's official report, 226; his account of Sporting Hill (Oyster Point), 226; details of his holding Carlisle, 227; how Carlisle looked when Twenty-second entered it, 228; members of Landis' Battery wounded, 229; statement from R. W. Gilder, 229; streets blocked by barricades, 230; where the different companies of the regiment were posted, 230; position of the Thirty-seventh, 230; rebel officers carrying flags of truce not blindfolded, 231; fire afterwards concentrated in the Square, 231; detachment from Twelfth N. Y. N. G. aids in the defence, 233; scenes at the Court House, 234; citizens of Carlisle volunteer as skirmishers, 235; Prof. Hillman's statement of their services, 235; scenes in house held by Company A of Twenty-second, 236; spy arrested by Lieut.-Col Cox, 237; attack expected from the woods, 237; position of artillery at the south part of the town, 238; over-estimate of the strength of the brigade deters the Confederates from attacking, 239; flag of truce again sent in and firing re-opened, 240; the noises of the night, 240; difficulty in keeping the tired men awake, 241; preparations in the morning to receive attack, 241; much less damage done to town than was expected, 242; the injured, 242; the damage to the town, 244; one woman attempts to arrest a company, 244; rest of the division within attacking distance, but does nothing, 245; Gen. Ewen's criticism on this omission, 245; they march towards Harrisburg on July 2, and



do not reach Carlisle until July 3, 247; report of superintendent of railroads to Gen. Hallock, 247; Gen. Couch expected brigade would be captured, 248; his gloomy view of the situation, 248; Gen. Thomas's report to Secretary Stanton, 248; the brigade forms line of battle south of the town, and gets breakfast at 4 P. M., 249; marches in afternoon to a field near the burned barracks and camps in the rain, 250; some supplies arrive on July 3, 250; no change of clothing had for the next three weeks by any of the officers or men, 250; rubber blankets, overcoats and soap unobtainable, 251; ladies of Carlisle present a flag to the Twenty-second and Gen. Smith a silver urn, 251; scouting party towards Gettysburg witness cavalry skirmish, 251.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## MOVING TO INTERCEPT LEE'S ARMY . . . . . 252

Gen. Smith orders division to march at daylight on July 4, 252; Twenty-second escapes being detained as a guard, 253; list of organizations composing Smith's Division, 253; why was Smith's Division kept idle twenty miles from the battlefield at Gettysburg from the 2d to the 4th of July? 255; Meade cut off from communicating with Couch, but relies upon his holding the Susquehanna, 255; his report on his situation, 255; his telegrams to Couch, 256; Smith's report to Couch as to cause of delay, 256; Hallock advises Couch to push forward his troops, 256; Couch's telegrams to Gen. Smith, 256; Gen. Thomas to Stanton, 257; Secretary Stanton disgusted with the delay, 257; Gen. Smith reports the troops as waiting for provisions, 257; troops might have been pushed forward, 257.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE MOUNTAIN PASSES . . . . . 258

Division marches for Mt. Holly Pass on July 4, 258; delayed to receive for exchange 2,000 prisoners from First Corps Army Potomac, 259; they report Gen. McClellan in command, 259; Meade unknown to the troops, 260; terrible thunder-storm floods everything, 260; fording Yellow Breeches Creek in a freshet, 261; night march in a tempest up a mountain road, 263; head of column becomes stuck in the road and the rest of it lost, 265; encampment by the roadside, 265; privations of the troops, 266; the artillery horses exhausted, 266; on July 5 regiment marches to Laurel Forge, 269; a few flour cakes obtained for breakfast, 270; march to Bendersville in the morning, where rations are obtained, 270; Judge Henry E. Davies acts as a forager, 271; ignorance of troops as to the country, 272.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## UNDER MEADE'S ORDERS . . . . . 273

Attempt to reach Gettysburg abandoned, 273; Gen. Meade's telegraph to Gen. Hallock, 273; Meade's chief of staff to Gen. Smith, that his reinforcement would be valuable, 273; Smith sends staff officer to Meade, 274; Meade's order to Smith. He



instructed Couch to cross and make a demonstration, always looking to his return to the Susquehanna, 274; that he seems nervous, 275; Secretary Cameron to President Lincoln. Couch will not move, as he believes his duty is to guard the Susquehanna, 275; Smith reports that he proposed to put himself in Lee's rear, which would have been great service, 275; Smith telegraphs Gen. Couch, 275; Couch telegraphs Gen. Meade, 276; Smith sends Lieut. Rufus King to meet Meade, 276; his perilous ride around Lee's army, 276.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

TO NEWMAN'S GAP . . . . . 273

Starved out at Bendersville, 278; march to Newman's Gap, 278; preparations to resist the enemy, 278; Smith reports location of troops, 279; Couch reports Smith's position to Meade, 280; Meade's telegram to Gen. Couch, 280; order from Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Williams to Gen. Smith to proceed to Gettysburg to protect the wounded, 281; Gen. Smith to Gen. Couch stating his movements and asking for provisions, 281; Gen. Warren compliments Gen. Smith for behavior at Harrisburg and Carlisle as being a great help, 281; Smith away from all communication, 282; Gen. Couch to Adjt.-Gen. Williams, 282; member of the Fifty-sixth accidentally shot by one of the Twenty-third, 282; Gen. Smith reports he will immediately obey Gen. Williams's orders, 283; Gen. Meade authorizes Smith to continue pursuit and join the army at Middletown, 283; Gen. Smith to Gen. Couch that he is moving from Waynesboro and that many of his men are without shoes, 283; regiment obtains breakfast, 284; seeks to block the mountain passes, 284; what would have happened if it had met Lee's army half through one of them, 284; Gen. Sedgwick to Gen. Williams that rebel division was sent to check Smith, 284; Gen. Couch to Gen. Meade as to Smith's movements, 285; Smith's summary of his march across the State, 285; the privations sustained during it by the Twenty-second, 287; impossibility of spending any money, 287; expected attack on Lee at Newman's Gap, 288; fables of the march, 289.

## CHAPTER XXV.

ALTODALE OR FUNKSTOWN . . . . . 290

July 7, regiment marches to Funkstown, 290; camps in a beautiful grove, 290; encounters Confederate prisoners, 290; heavy rain floods the camp during the night, 291; the scenes in the morning, 291; the shoes of many give out, 292.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

JOINING THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC . . . . . 293

March to Waynesboro and Hagerstown, 293; division joins second division of Sixth Corps Army of the Potomac, 293; Waynesboro cleaned out by the Confederates, 294; Gen. Meade's report of arrival of division, 294; Gen. Smith's report to Adjt.-Gen. Williams, 294; he suggests that the regiments of his brigade be



distributed among the Army of the Potomac, 295; Gen. Neil reports to Gen. Williams situation upon arrival of Smith, 295; Gen. Williams's instructions to Gen. Smith, 296; Gen. Smith reports to Gen. Couch that his men are much in need of shoes, 296; Gen. Smith reports to Gen. Williams that he found rebels strongly posted on right bank of Antietam, 297; commissary reports no rations; trains unable to move, from bad roads and broken bridges, 297; general order that an early engagement was certain and enjoining preparations, 297; arms rendered almost useless by wet weather, 298; strength of different organizations in the division on July 11, 1863, 298; gray uniforms objected to, 299.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## MARCHING THROUGH MARYLAND . . . . . 300

Cannonading heard from Williamsport, 300; regiment enters Maryland, 301; a division camp in the field, 301; roads and fields cut up by march of the armies, 305; Confederate prisoners and abandoned property, 305; Confederates show fight on every occasion, 305; detachment finds their army at Hagerstown, 306; officers of the Twenty-second elected in the field, 307.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## SUPPORTING KILPATRICK'S ATTACK ON HAGERSTOWN . . . . . 308

A hard march to Cavetown, 308; regiment forms line of battle across Hagerstown road to support Kilpatrick, 308; tremendous thunder-storm—many struck by lightning, 309; regiment gets breakfast, 309; also some tobacco, 310; astonishment of the country people at the numbers of the two armies, 310.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## THE EXPECTED BATTLE . . . . . 311

Meade concentrates near Williamsport, 311; camp-fires of the Army of the Potomac on every side, 311; Twenty-second joins the reserve for the coming battle, 312; passes ambulances full of wounded, 312; Lee retreats and the battle is "off," 313; no suffering in the Army of the Potomac compared with that sustained by Smith's troops, 314; Gen. Ingall's comment on this to Gen. Meigs, 314; no privation in the Army of the Potomac, 315; newspapers and some letters received by the Twenty-second, 315; only news is what is obtained from New York papers, 315.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## THE MARCH TO MONOCACY JUNCTION . . . . . 317

Riots require presence of troops in New York, 317; Gen. Meade's order thanking Smith's command, 317; Gen. Smith's order expressing his admiration of their courage and fortitude, 317; Hallock countermands Smith's orders to send New York troops home, 318; Gov. Seymour states the need for them,





318; Hallock's orders countermanded by Secretary of War, 319; regiment starts for Frederick City, 319; sees the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac starting in pursuit of Lee, 319; indignation of the Twenty-second on learning of the Draft Riots, 320; it passes through South Mountain Gap, 321; beautiful scenery seen on the march, 321; incidents of the march, 322; arrival at Frederick City, 322; march to Monocacy Junction, 323; suffering in the regiment from blistered feet, 323; a thief is drummed out from one of the regiments, 324.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE START FOR HOME . . . . . 325

Regiment goes to sleep, 325; is awakened to take the cars, 325; inexcusable mismanagement by somebody, 326; breakfast at Baltimore a disappointment, 326; arrival at New York July 18, 1863, 327; what the regiment had undergone, 327; Gen. Smith's report to Gen. Meade on the sufferings of his troops and of their patriotism, 328; Gen. Couch's report of service performed and prisoners taken, 328; Lieut. Woodruff Jones's statement of the suffering of the brigade, 328; disgust of the regiment with its brigade commander, 329; the illness of members from the service and death of Lieut. Soutter, 331.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### THE DRAFT RIOTS . . . . . 332

Riot instigated by Confederate emissaries, 332; disorderly elements come to the surface; asylums and buildings burned, and negroes beaten, 333; men openly robbed in the street, and business arrested, 333; Armorer Arnold informed that the workmen employed in building armory intended to strike and join the rioters, 334; advertisement published for all members and ex-members of the regiment in the city to assemble, 334; newspaper offices barricaded, 334; detachment of the Twenty-second assembles, 335; its organization and officers, 335; it unites with detachment from the Seventh, 335; is marched to Webb's Ship Yard, 335; the detachment is forgotten by the authorities and fed by the neighbors, 336; it is reinforced by squad of sailors with howitzer, 337; insufficient management of the military forces during the riots, 338; detachment rejoins regiment on July 16, 338; men of the Twenty-second detachment suffer from typhoid fever, 339; regiment finds New York demoralized, 339; it is retained in its armory for guard duty, 339; then sent to Elm Park, 339; demoralizing character of this duty, 340; necessity of National Guardsmen being kept occupied when on guard duty in their armories, 340.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR . . . . . 342

Regiment tenders its armory to the Sanitary Fair, 342; the authorities construct a new drill-room for its use and that of the



Fair, 342 ; Twenty-second constantly in expectation of a call to the field, 343 ; the effect of this upon the officers and men, 343 ; Col. Aspinwall tenders his resignation, but takes a year's leave of absence, 344 ; Lieut.-Col. Cox assumes command, 344 ; guard ordered to the armory July, 1864, 344 ; guard again ordered in February, 1865, 345 ; regiment parades on Decoration Day and at Gen. Winthrop's funeral, 345 ; armory draped with mourning at the death of Lincoln, 345 ; regiment parades at his funeral, 345 ; also to celebrate peace, 346.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## AFTER THE WAR

347

Close of War left National Guard in poor condition, which continued until introduction of rifle practice in 1870, 347 ; Gen. Clark states situation, 347 ; prospects of sudden calls for service forced men out of regiment and prevented recruiting, 348 ; change in personnel, 349 ; people tired of war, 349 ; veterans seldom good National Guardsmen, 350 ; State pays for uniforms, 350 ; Companies E and K disbanded, 350 ; city presents colors, 350 ; regiments disbanded, 350 ; Josiah Porter elected captain of Company G, 351 ; Aspinwall medals offered and their winners in 1865 and 1866, 351 ; Col. Aspinwall elected brigadier-general, 351 ; J. F. Cox elected colonel, Geo. B. Post lieutenant-colonel, and E. M. Townsend major, 352 ; description of Col. Cox, 352 ; Col. Cox resigns, September, 1867, 353 ; Lieut.-Col. George B. Post elected colonel, February 8th, 1867 ; Capt. William W. Remmey lieutenant-colonel, Capt. Josiah Porter elected major, 1867 ; description of Colonel Post, 353 ; he requires squad drills in Upton's tactics, 354 ; farce of annual parade of ununiformed militia abandoned, 354 ; Alexander Shaler elected to command First division January, 1867, and reforms its methods, 357 ; muzzle loading Springfields exchanged for Enfields, February, 1867 and new manual of arms adopted, 357 ; .50 calibre Remingtons substituted for Springfields in 1871, 357 ; Remingtons selected by National Guard board, 358 ; they preferred .45 but adopted .50 calibre, because army stated it had no intention to change calibre of Springfield, 358 ; the war department within a short time adopts the .45, 358 ; opposition to Remington among a portion of National Guard, 359 ; camp at Long Branch August 12, 1868, 359 ; ladies of Long Branch present testimonials to regiment, 359 ; lieutenant-colonel Remmey elected colonel (vice Post resigned) ; Major Porter lieutenant-colonel ; Captain John T. Camp major, 360 ; description of Colonel Remmey, 360 ; cold contracted in armory caused his illness and death, 361 ; he encourages rifle practice and takes regiment to Sing Sing, May, 1869, 361 ; exhibition drill before State Military Association, January 19, 1869.

Bell signals prescribed for riot duty, 361 ; Colonel Remmey resigns, July, 1869 ; Lieutenant-colonel Porter elected colonel in October ; Major Camp, lieutenant-colonel ; Capt. Brown, major ; William J. Harding appointed Adjutant, 362 ; Porter remains colonel until appointed Adjutant General, 1885. Description of Col. Porter, 362 ; he effects great changes in methods and ideas of regiment, 363 ; military experience of Adjutant William J. Harding in the field, 363 ; the innovations introduced by Col. Porter, 364 ; details of inspection prescribed in previous orders, 364 ; Regimental recruit class established under Adjutant Harding in place of company squads, 364 ; benefits they received from it, 365 ; officers' school established, 365 ;



new system of regimental books and records introduced by Adj. Harding, 365; Col. Porter devises system of street riot drill, 1877, 366; all drills required to be conducted according to prescribed and progressive methods and carefully inspected, 366; regiment now managed on the traditions and systems established by Col. Porter, 367; Col. Church's tribute to his (Porter's) memory, 367; General Porter's death, 367; funeral, 370.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

## CHANGES IN TACTICS . . . . . 372

Hardee's tactics first adopted by Twenty-second, 372; those of Casey substituted, 372; their complicated character, 372; confusion caused in moving by inversion, 373; Col. Monroe's system of company drill and bayonet fencing, 373; Morris's tactics adopted in 1866, 373; Upton's tactics adopted in 1867, 374; new drill book adopted in 1892, 374; Twenty-second learns the manual of arms with the Enfield, with sword bayonet, the Springfield muzzle loader, and the Remington breech loader, 374; regiment also instructed in artillery in 1862, 374.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## CHANGES IN UNIFORMS . . . . . 375

Regiment parades October 28, 1863, in chasseur uniform, which had been adopted in place of the strawberry gray, 375; uniform worn in Pennsylvania, 376; epaulets adopted November 6, 1863, 376; motto "Defendum" adopted December 1, 1863, 376; Short's patent knapsack adopted October 4, 1864, 376; State first aids in supplying uniforms, December 1, 1864, 376; the relative merits of having uniforms issued by the State or purchased by the man, 379; State pays for uniforms expended in the field, 379; regimental pin adopted August 1, 1863, 379; dress hat adopted January 12, 1867, with white plume and gaiters, 380; drooping horse hair plumes shortened, 380; plume of white swan's feathers with blue top substituted in 1869, 380; officers wear regulation uniform, 380; officers adopt, March 15, 1867, round fatigue cap without visor, 380; discussions over proposed change in dress uniform, 380; blue swallow-tail dress coat adopted, 381; selected because its wearer had a fine soldierly bearing, 381; other parts of the new uniform, 381; officers abandon white leggins and adopt gilt belts, February, 1869, 381; white pompons substituted for white plume, January, 1871, 381; white dress uniform adopted January 24, 1876, 381; new cartridge box adopted 1870, 382; helmet adopted 1880, 382; cost of new uniform when adopted, 382; campaign hats and sergeants swords adopted 1895, 382.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## INAUGURATION OF RIFLE PRACTICE BY THE TWENTY-SECOND. . . . . 386

The little firing had in the field in 1862, had only taught men how to load, 386; no instructions whatever in shooting in Pennsylvania campaign, 386; the author impressed by the ignorance displayed by the regiment in regard to the use of its rifles, 387; obtains English books and prepares a system of instruction in aiming drill and candle



practice for Co. A. 387; Capt. Lockwood drills Co. H in the same manner, 387; Companies A & H erect targets in armory for candle practice with percussion caps, 388; wooden target erected in the armory, and practice had with light charges, 388; interest excited in this practice, induces rifle practice to be made a feature of Long Branch encampment, 388; Gen. Aspinwall and others offer prizes, 388; the author prepares the rules for firing, during the encampment, 388; invents "Wingate's revolving target" (now in use at West Point) for this camp, 388; success of Companies A and H at Long Branch, in consequence of their instruction, 389; Board of Officers request the author to prepare a book for instruction of the different companies in rifle practice, 389; pamphlet presented to Board of Officers, April, 1869, which is officially adopted by regiment, 389; resolution of thanks presented to the writer, 389; June, 1870, regiment visits Sing Sing for rifle practice, 390; shooting supervised by the writer, at Col. Remmey's request, 390; list of prize winners, 390; instructions prepared for the Twenty-second, published in the Army and Navy Journal, September 11, 1869, 390; adopted by other regiments, 390; also adopted by New Jersey, 390; Major Gen. Plume of that State orders official target practice, in September, 1869, and October, 1870, 391; Twenty-third goes to Long Branch for target practice, October 4, 1871, 391; author elaborates his "instructions" in a series of articles in the Army and Navy Journal during 1869 and 1870, 391; these lead to the formation of the National Rifle Association in 1870, 391; they constitute the foundation of Wingate's Manual of Rifle Practice, adopted by New York and other states, 391; acknowledgment of Capt. Blunt in U. S. A. "Instructions in rifle firing" of Genl. Wingate's services, and the value of his book, note, 391-2; armory rifle practice under Wingate's regulations, prescribed in regimental orders, February 3, 1870; followed by regiment until Wingate's Manual was adopted by the state, 392; Twenty-second thus originates in this country rifle practice as a part of military instruction, 392; regiment appoints committee of officers on aiming and firing, September 4, 1870, 392; Company F, Capt. Clan Ranald, forms Rifle Association and constructs range at Clifton, N. J., 393; applies to Governor of New Jersey, 1872, for permission to hold its prize meetings, 395; Remington breech loader issued September, 1872, 396; Twenty-second Regiment Rifle Association formed March 11, 1873, 396; Clifton range used by Twenty-second until Creedmoor was opened, 396; its use granted to Seventh and Seventy-first, 396; Regiment adopts rules of National Rifle Association June 3, 1873, 396; Twenty-second wins everything at opening match of National Rifle Association, June 21, 1873, 399; pictures of its team placed in officers' room and resolution of thanks given to each member, 400; progress made by other regiments prevents Twenty-second from being similarly successful in the following year, 400; Clifton range given up in 1873, 400; too much money spent by regiment on its team, which leads to the disbandment of the regimental rifle association in 1875, 402; regiment discontinues the organization of a team, 402; establishes a challenge badge, 1877, 402; Beiknap trophy offered in 1871, 402; failing to maintain team diminishes interest in rifle practice in Twenty-second, 402; importance of a team to a regiment, 403; no facilities for armory practice existing in 14th Street armory, 403; improvement shown since new armory was obtained, 405; table of official record of Twenty-second in shooting from 1875 to 1894, 406.





CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ORANGE RIOT . . . . . 409

July 12 celebrated as anniversary of battle of the Boyne, 409; bitter feeling against Orangemen created by it, 409; their opponents determine in 1871, to prevent the usual Orange parade, 410; public meetings decide to stop parade by force, 410; this action disapproved by Catholic clergy and better class of Irishmen, 411; Supt. of Police refuses permission for parade, 412; supposed political reasons for his action, 412; intense public indignation caused by it, 412; Governor Hoffman revokes Superintendent's order, 413; his proclamation against interference with parade, 414; First Division ordered under arms, 414; rioters not deterred, and Orangemen obstinate, 415; police and troops sent to threatened points on July 12, 415; outbreak of laborers on Boulevard, 415; riotous crowds assemble, causing great apprehension, 416; composition of military escort of procession, 22d marches to 8th Ave. and 29th St., 416; the "Orange" paraders, 417; 8th Avenue filled with crowd of toughs, 417; 22d loads with ball cartridge, 418; police clears the street, 418; formation of procession, 418; it is bombarded with missiles when it starts, 419; it is halted at 23d Street, 420; attacks upon it then redoubled, 420; police charges mob in rear of the column, 421; many soldiers struck, two killed, 421; anger and apprehension of troops; discipline only prevents their returning the assaults, 421; pistols fired from houses along the line and woman shot, 421; at 24th Street, Capt. Douglass of 84th felled, 422; his company opens fire, which is taken up by rest of 84th, 421; thence extends to the 6th and 9th regiments, 422; these break after firing, 422; right wing of 7th, on the west sidewalk, faces east and fires on mob, 423; Adj't. Harding orders no firing and 22d obeys, 423; wild character of shooting done by other regiments, 424; many rifles loaded with more than one charge, 424; riot impresses officers with necessity of rifle practice, 425; disorder after the firing nearly breaks up procession, 425; solid front of 22d restores confidence, 426; surgeons treat wounded, 426; formation of procession changed and column moves forward, 426; the scene it left, 427; incidents of the march, 427; procession disbanded at Cooper Institute, 427; the marshal of the Orangemen, 427; Col. Porter's report of the march, 428; efficient conduct of police, 429; 22d sent to Elm Park on July 13, 430; threatened by mob, 430; list of killed and injured, 431; buildings on 8th Avenue marked with bullets, 431; public opinion approves of firing, 431; commendation of 22d for its discipline, 432; remarks of Alderman Quincy to Boston Common Council, 432; Col. Porter calls attention in orders to the lessons of the day, 433; urges the importance of discipline and the need of a higher standard of marksmanship, 434.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1869 TO 1890 . . . . . 435

After 1870, National Guard prospects begin slowly to improve, 435; parade on Washington's Birthday abandoned, 435; too much time and money spent on concerts and balls, 435; value of street parades, 435; incessant applications made for use of armory, 436; officers decide December 13, 1872, that it should not be thereafter leased for any purpose, 437; orders given November, 1868, for regi-



ment to report to armory on twelve strokes of fire bell, 437; regiment makes various excursions and receives number of visiting organizations, 437; detachment visits Charleston and Providence, 437; regiment goes to Sing Sing, June, 1870, 438; Vose medals, presented June 9, 1870, 438; Providence Light Infantry received October 13, 1869, 438; detachment visits Long Branch August 2, 1870, 438; New Haven Greys received October, 1871, 439; regiment on guard on Election day in 1871, 439; regiment receives victorious American team, August, 1875, 439; parades at Philadelphia July 4, 1876, 440; presents First Pennsylvania with resolutions, 440; danger of an outbreak in 1877, 440; communistic meeting called at Tompkins Park, July 15, 1877, 441; Twenty-second ordered on guard at this armory, 441; practiced by Col. Porter in riot duty in 14th St., 441; proposed outbreak quelled by the readiness of the troops, 441; March, 1878, Company G disbanded, re-organized April 30th, 1879, 441; Twenty-second and its veteran corps visits Brooklyn, April 27, 1878, 442; Twenty third received by Twenty-second April 24, 1879, 442; officers give Col. Porter a dinner October 11, 1879, 443; Belknap and Van Antwerp trophy presented, 443; Twenty-second parades at Tarrytown September 22, 1880, 443; officers adopt veteran marksmen badge April 11, 1879, 443; regiment receives First Pennsylvania, Decoration Day, 1880, 443; receives from First Pennsylvania testimonial November 12, 1880, 444; review given to Col. Porter on return from Europe, December, 1881, 444; drill before Gen. Hancock on Governor's Island, 444; Regt. goes to Philadelphia with veteran corps on laying of corner stone of armory of First Pennsylvania, April 19, 1882, 444; escorted in New York by Seventh Regiment, 444-8; regiment presents stand of colors to First Pennsylvania, January 5, 1883, 448; contributes towards the expenses of the International team, May 18, 1883, 448; November 25, 1883, parades on Centennial celebration of Evacuation Day, 448; gives a ball January 7, 1884, 448; Col. John T. Camp elected colonel in place of Genl. Porter, appointed Adjutant General January 18, 1886, 448; Col. Camp's previous military history, 448; Col. Camp's characteristics, 451; he introduces drilling by trumpet, 451; many national guard regiments disbanded, 451; the old cavalry in the National Guard, 452; list of regiment disbanded, 452; troops of New York City consolidated into one brigade, in 1886, 452; regiment gives entertainment May 1, 1886, to provide pedestal for statue of Liberty, 453; parades on unveiling of the statue, November 1, 1886, 453; James Monroe Post organized, 453; officers of Twenty-second celebrate anniversary of Pennsylvania campaign June 16, 1888, 453; regiment acts as escort to commander-in-chief in Philadelphia September 16, 1887, 453; receives first regiment of Pennsylvania April 30, 1889, 453.

## CHAPTER XL

## VETERAN CORPS

455

Reasons for its organization, 455; officers of Twenty-second procure passage of law establishing it July 22, 1868, 455; "uniformed corps" established, 456; mistake made in its organization, 456; its great social prominence, 456; in 1883, friction occurs between it and the regiment, 457; use of the armory to the uniformed veteran corps prohibited by the regiment March 4, 1883, 457; bitter feeling between the two organizations, 457; unfortunate result of this feeling, 457; uniformed veteran corps dies out, 458.



## CHAPTER XLI

THE STATE CAMP AND THE MARCH TO PEEKSKILL . . . . .	459
---	-----

State Camp opened in 1832, 22d there from July 29 to Aug. 5, 459; all details and a progressive system of instruction previously prescribed in orders, 459; regiment had the advantage of having its Col. and Adjutant, veteran soldiers, 460; camp a failure before arrival of 22d, 460; made a success by the methods it introduced, which have been since officially adopted, 460; regiment closed camp according to regulations, 461; highly praised by Asst. Insp. Gen. Rodenbough, 461; declared to be "first in merit" by Inspector General Oliver, 461; thanks of Board of Officers tendered Adj. Harding, 461; benefits of camp to the National Guard, 463; encomiums of Col. Closson, U. S. A., on tour of duty of 22d, in 1885, 466.

Report of Asst. Inspector Gen. Briggs upon same, 468; 22d stated to have performed the most progressive and thorough work ever done in the camp, 470; his report as to regiment's general condition, 470; survey and map of camp made by Surgeon Duncan and detail of 22d, 471; march to Peekskill in 1887 decided upon in 1885, 472; regiment addressed by Gen. Rodenbough and others as to marches and bivouacs, 472; Army & Navy Journal on the march, 472; regiment assembled July 28, 1887, 472; takes cars to Van Cortland, 473; formation for the march, 473; bivouacs at Tarrytown, 473; rations spoiled by heat, 474; march resumed at 5:30 a. m. on July 29, 474; halt made at Croton River until afternoon, 474; heavy thunder shower compels regiment to proceed at 3 p. m., 474; marches 14 miles to Peekskill in terrific storm over muddy roads, 477; Captain Finch tenders his house at Peekskill, 477; entire regiment occupies it, 477; only eight stragglers, 477; regiment marches to camp in the morning without breakfast, 478; heat and muddy roads make this hard work, 478; Gen. Porter pleased at appearance of 22d, 478; breakfast obtained in camp, 479; march too severe for unexperienced men in bad weather, 479; demonstrated the importance of an efficient commissary department, 480; attendance of 22d at camp in different years, 480; creditable tour of duty performed in 1895, 481; death of Major Geo. E. B. Hart, July, 1895, 481; depression in camp caused by his death, 481.

## CHAPTER XLII.

THE FIGHT FOR AN ARMORY . . . . .	481
-----------------------------------	-----

Twenty-second fits up west room, in 14th street armory as a gymnasium in 1865, 482; experiment not successful and apparatus removed in 1870, 483; room afterwards used for squad drill room, 483; finally becomes useless for want of repair, 483; Twenty-second tenders Seventh use of its armory, March 22, 1872, 483; trouble experienced by regiment in regard to renewing lease of 14th street armory, 483; fire in armory January 20th, 1872, 483; assessment on regiment to replace uniforms of companies B and D, destroyed in fire, 484; liquor prohibited in armories in 1876, 484; two galleries built in 14th street armory January, 1868, 484; inferior character of the heating arrangements, 484; the leaks in the roof, 485; regiment forms committee February, 1882, to procure new armory, 485; unsuccessful attempt to obtain funds by sub-



scription, 486 ; application made to the Legislature by regiment in 1883, 486 ; renewed February, 1884, 487 ; committee from Twenty-second visits Governor Cleveland, 497 ; bill passed authorizing Armory Board to construct armory, 487 ; endeavors of Twenty-second to have armory allotted to it, 487 ; committee formed to procure signatures to petition for that purpose, 488 ; parade of regiment before Armory Board, May 15, 1884, 489 ; proposed armory awarded to Twenty-second, 489 ; site procured on the Boulevard and W. 67-68th streets, 489 ; difficulty of procuring plans for an armory which could be constructed within the sum allotted, 490 ; regiment prepares its own plans of what is needed, 490 ; appropriation of \$300,000 finally obtained, 490 ; regiment adopts Col. Post's plans, 491 ; impossible to construct them within the appropriation, 491 ; Mayor Hewett requires that officers should stipulate not to ask anything in excess of it, 491 ; Capt. Leo prepares plans March, 1888, 492 ; procures estimates to build armory within appropriation, 492 ; construction authorized by Board March 13, 1888, 492 ; Corner stone laid May 30, 1889, 492 ; celebration of occasion, 495 ; last meeting of officers in 14th street armory April 11th, 1890, 495 ; the next day the regiment takes possession of new armory, 495 ; three of original members of regiment participate in the parade, 495 ; New armory bare of all furniture, 496 ; is being fitted up by the different companies, 496 ; description of the armory, 496.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

## BANDS . . . . . 498

Helmsmuller employed as leader, and organizes band September, 1861, 489 ; two drummers also attached to each company. Helmsmuller's band becomes celebrated, 498 ; he composes regimental march, 489 ; band taken to Harper's Ferry at expense of officers and sent home in July, 499 ; want of military knowledge of musicians, 499 ; band meets returning regiment at Philadelphia, 500 ; taken to Pennsylvania but left at Harrisburg, 500 ; Dodsworth appointed band leader July 11, 1866, and organizes Dodsworth band, 500 ; fifers replaced by drummers January 12, 1867, 501 ; Rehm appointed band leader in 1871, and resigns in 1873, 501 ; Gilmore appointed, 501 ; organizes Gilmore's band, which attains a national reputation. Popularity of Gilmore, 502 ; his death in 1892 deeply deplored in regiment, 502 ; Reeves appointed band leader and resigns in 1893, 503 ; Victor Herbert then appointed, 503.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

## ORDERED TO BUFFALO . . . . . 504

Switchman's strike breaks out in Buffalo, 504 ; incendiary fires started August 13, 1892, 504 ; on the requisition of the sheriff, Gen. Doyle orders Buffalo regiments under arms, 505 ; August 16th, Fourth brigade ordered out, 506 ; Governor orders out the Twenty-second and most of New York and Brooklyn regiments and separate companies on August 17th, 506 ; call wholly unexpected, 506 ; at 5 p. m. on August 15th, Col. King receives telegram to assemble regiment immediately, 507 ; 400 men ready in the armory at 9 o'clock, 508 ; regiment excused until the 15th, 508 ; failure of many of the





men to make adequate preparation for field service, 509 ; regiment starts for Buffalo August 18th, at 11:15 a. m. by Central Railroad, 510 ; joined by the Fourth and Twenty-third, separate company, 510 ; lunch at Poughkeepsie, 511 ; passes Twelfth regiment at Albany, 511 ; grumbling at the Commissary Department, 511 ; men too excited and crowded to sleep, 512 ; men left behind formed into a battalion under Major Bartlett, 512 ; it follows regiment in the Limited Express and passes it at Syracuse, 512 ; passes freight yards guarded by sentries, 512 ; declines breakfast before the arrival of the regiment, 513 ; regiment obliged to march without breakfast, 514 ; strength of the regiment at Buffalo, 514 ; officers present, 514 ; animosity shown by the striking switchmen, 516 ; regiment ordered to Tift farm, 516.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### MAJOR BARTLETT'S BATTALION . . . . . 517

Companies A, B, H and Fourth separate company detached to guard elevators of the Erie Railroad, 517 ; organizes a camp, 517 ; superintendent's chickens, 518 ; detachment sent to forage, 521 ; food sent by the commissary department, 522 ; battalion re-enforced, 522 ; men construct shanties and bunks, 522 ; the cold wind and the rats, 523 ; tents erected on 21st, but found too cold, 523 ; dampness in the evening and alarm at night, 523 ; the guard duty, 524 ; men contribute to purchase provisions, 525 ; construct camp cooking stoves, 526 ; the food, 526 ; hospitality of the people on the outskirts, 527 ; construction of store house, 527 ; the arrest of Daniel Moran, 528 ; the shooting of Michael Broderick, 530 ; the strikers and police cause indictment of Lieut. Cassidy, 533 ; Attorney General intervenes and proceedings dismissed, 534 ; law passed to protect national guardsmen in similar cases, 535 ; attempt to capture the Morning Starr, 535 ; Fourth separate company entertained, 536.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### COL. CAMP'S BATTALION AND THE GENERAL SITUATION . . . . . 537

Regiment stationed at camp 2 on the Tift farm, 537 ; ground crossed between the freight yard and the swamp, 533 ; Companies C and F detached under command of Lieut. Col. King, 538 ; Sixteenth separate company joins regiment, 538 ; Companies D, E, G, and K and Sixteenth separate company compose battalion under Col. Camp, 539 ; their station and duties, 539 ; area of disturbances, 540 ; how the yards were connected, 540 ; all the tracks crowded with cars, 540 ; duty of the soldiers, 543 ; riotous crowds hanging around the yards, and attacking switchmen, 543 ; missiles thrown at national guardsmen, 544 ; gentle treatment of strikers not appreciated, 545 ; police worse than ineffective, 545 ; arrest of rioters, 546 ; orders to fire, 546 ; the soot and cinders, 547 ; inadequacy of the commissary and quartermaster's departments, 547 ; their improvement one of the beneficial results of this campaign, 547 ; how the rations were distributed, 548 ; attempt to supply cooked food a failure, 548 ; it is refused by Twenty-second, which draws and cooks its own rations, 548 ; the sleeping accommodations, 548 ; location of the



camps occupied by the different regiments and separate companies, 548 ; services held on August 21st, 550 ; unauthorized order of Col. Austin to the Fourth separate company, to report to him, complied with but countermanded by Gen. Doyle, 551 ; little sickness in the regiment, 551 ; efficiency of the officers, 551.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

## LIEUT. COL. KING'S BATTALION . . . . . 555

Companies C and F form battalion with headquarters near Buffalo Creek, 555 ; it arranges its camp, 555 ; the search for breakfast, 555 ; arrival of Captain Smith of F Company, 555 ; box cars used for sleeping quarters, 555 ; arduous work of the detachment, 556 ; messengers employed, 557 ; supplies arrived from regimental headquarters, 558 ; amusements in the camp, 558 ; curious underwear purchased, 558 ; rumors in the camp, 558 ; the guard duty, 559 ; assaults on the sentries, 559 ; vigilance of officers, 560 ; the shooting of Jerry Manahan, 561 ; brutal attack on a switchman, 561 ; Jerry Manahan shot by the guard and his associates captured, 561 ; Lieut. Austin holds the prisoners in the face of a riotous crowd, 561 ; Lieut. Austin arrested by the police, 561 ; Gen. Doyle orders General Camp to release him by force, 562 ; indignation against the police created among the different regiments, 563 ; armed tramps arrested on the way to Buffalo, 563 ; regimental commissary loses his supplies in the camp of Company E, 564 ; unfounded insinuations that that company was responsible, 564 ; heavy rain on August 26, 565.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

## THE RETURN FROM BUFFALO . . . . . 566

Strike declared off on August 24th, 566 ; joy of the troops, 566 ; Fourth separate company departs, 566 ; switchmen return to work on August 26th, 566 ; battalions join the regiment which breaks camp, and takes cars, 566 ; it stops at Niagara Falls, 569 ; sleeping in the cars on the homeward trip, 570 ; the regiment arrives in Grand Central Depot on August 27th, 571 ; their unkempt appearance, 571 ; breakfast in the armory, 571 ; the men wash, shave and sleep, 571 ; recollections of the campaign, 572.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

## THE BROOKLYN TROLLEY WAR . . . . . 573

On January 14th, 1895, a dispute between the employees and the trolley companies of Brooklyn causes a strike, 573 ; places of the employees are filled, 573 ; cars then interfered with, and scabs assaulted, 574 ; Brooklyn police fail to cope with the situation, 574 ; city authorities weak and timid, 575 ; the railroad companies call upon them for protection, 575 ; They apply to Gen. McLeer for military forces, 575 ; Second brigade called out January 18th, 575 ; Mayor Schieren appeals to Gov. Morton for additional forces, 575 ; at 6 p. m. on January 20th, Gen. Fitzgerald orders out First brigade, 575 ; Col. King orders members of the Twenty-second to report,



576; men and officers arrive at armory during all the night, 576; the inclemency of the weather and shortness of the notice causes hardship, 576; improvement in the equipment of the men in the quartermaster and commissary departments, 576; breakfast supplied at half past 3 a. m. on 21st, 577; Twenty-second leaves armory 5 a. m. on January 21st, and proceeds by way of East River bridge to 23d regiment armory in Brooklyn, 577; companies of this regiment on duty at various points in Brooklyn, 577; Twenty-second ordered by telephone to protect Bergen street and adjoining territory, 578; Col. King divides regiment into two battalions, 578; officers of First battalion 578; This battalion is at once posted in Bergen street, 581; officers of Second battalion, 581; other officers of the regiment, 581; Col. Camp joins regiment and assumes command, 581; strength of the regiment during campaign, 582; vague directions from general headquarters, 582; use of armory of 23d granted regiment by Col. Smith, 583; Second battalion makes itself comfortable in armory, 583; men wet and chilled by waiting in the street, 584; efficient manner in which First brigade was mobilized, 584; whole of Brooklyn covered early on January 21st by strong military force, 584. First battalion finds Bergen street car tracks covered with trucks, kegs, ash barrels and boulders, 585; runs through tenement house district in which many strikers lived, 585; strict orders enforced to prevent crowds and keep people moving, 585; residents friendly to soldiers, 585; men of 22d as gentle as possible and were received in a friendly spirit, 586; not a gun loaded by a member of the regiment during the campaign, 586; guards build picket fires along the street and buy rubbers and gloves from peddlers, 586; battalions relieved every three hours until seven o'clock, 587; working party arrives at Bergen street in the afternoon, 587; Jewish cloakmakers on strike, take places of Brooklyn motormen, 587; no resistance offered to the working party, 587; psychological effect of crowds in inducing violence, 587; in case of riots, streets should be entirely cleared, 589; inadequate arrangements for cooking in armory of 23d, 589; lavatory arrangements insufficient and basins stopped up with grease, 590; men sleep on floor of drill room and officers in library, 590; hospitality of Union League Club, 591; officers present club with a bronze Russian bear, 591; correspondence with club, 592; Twenty-second much more comfortable than other organizations, 592; first campaign of National Guard in cold weather, 593; picket fires in streets a strange sight, 593; buildings in which other regiments were stationed, cold, wet and destitute of cooking facilities, 594; regiments purchase and cook their own rations, 594; 22d not disturbed during eight days of campaign, 594; squads sent as guards to patrol wagons, 594; not disturbed except by epithets, 595; citizens' committee present soldiers with pipes, tobacco, overshoes and gloves, 595; mysterious effects of arctics, 595; ungracious treatment received by regiments from railroad subordinates, 596; how the evenings were spent, 599; Chaplain Dunnell holds service on Sunday, 599; alarm of fire in officers' room, 600; practical joke on Capt. Smith, 600; 200 men sent to Myrtle Avenue to open that street, 601; 22d held in armory after Friday but drills daily in Bedford Avenue, 601; Company G sent out in patrol wagons, 601; wisdom of drilling men in the streets, 601; armory besieged by visitors, 602; expedients invented to pass the time, 602; orders received to return, 605; the march back, 605; health of regiment excellent, 606; feeling of National Guard not kindly towards trolley companies, 606.



# APPENDIX 1.—OFFICERS OF TWENTY-SECOND FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO 1895.

Colonels (p. 611); Lieutenant-Colonels (p. 611); Majors (p. 611); Adjutants (p. 612); Engineers (p. 612); Paymasters (p. 612); Commissaries (p. 612); Quartermasters (p. 613); Surgeons (p. 613); Assistant Surgeons (p. 613); Chaplains (p. 614); Inspectors of Rifle Practice (p. 614); Assistant Inspectors of Rifle Practice (p. 614).

Officers of Company A (p. 614); Captains (p. 614); First Lieutenants (p. 614); Second Lieutenants (p. 615).

Company B, Captains (p. 615); First Lieutenants (p. 616); Second Lieutenants (p. 616).

Company C, Captains (p. 616); First Lieutenants (p. 617); Second Lieutenants (p. 617).

Company D, Captains (p. 617); First Lieutenants (p. 618); Second Lieutenants (p. 618).

Company E, Captains (p. 618); First Lieutenants (p. 619); Second Lieutenants (p. 619).

Company F, Captains (p. 619); First Lieutenants (p. 620); Second Lieutenants (p. 620).

Company G, Captains (p. 620); First Lieutenants (p. 621); Second Lieutenants (p. 621).

Company H, Captains (pp. 621-622); First Lieutenants (p. 622); Second Lieutenants (pp. 622-623).

Company I, Captains (p. 623); First Lieutenants (p. 623); Second Lieutenants (pp. 623-624).

Company K, Captains (p. 624); First Lieutenants (p. 624); Second Lieutenants (p. 624).

## APPENDIX 2.—ROLL OF REGIMENT IN SERVICE IN 1862.

Field staff and Non-commissioned staff (p. 625); Officers and members of Company A (p. 626); of Company B (p. 627); of Company C (p. 628); of Company D (p. 629); of Company E (p. 630); of Company F (p. 631); of Company G (p. 632); of Company H (p. 634); of Company I (p. 635); of Band (p. 636).

## APPENDIX 3.—ROLL OF REGIMENT IN SERVICE IN 1863.

Field staff and Non-commissioned staff (p. 637); Officers and members of Company A (p. 637); of Company B (p. 638); of Company C (p. 640); of Company D (p. 641); of Company E (p. 642); of Company F (p. 643); of Company G (p. 644); of Company H (p. 645); of Company I (p. 646); of Company K (p. 647); of Band (p. 647).

## APPENDIX 4.—MEMBERS OF REGIMENT WHO SERVED IN OTHER ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE WAR.

From Field staff and Non-commissioned staff (p. 640). From Company A (p. 649); Company B (p. 651); Company C (p. 651); Company D (p. 651); Company E (p. 652); Company F (p. 652); Company G (p. 652); Company H (p. 653); Company I (p. 654); Company K (p. 654).





APPENDIX 5.—ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF HARPER'S FERRY BY COLONEL JOHN WARD, 12 N. G. (p. 655).

APPENDIX 6.—ROLL OF REGIMENT IN SERVICE AT BUFFALO, 1893.

Field staff and Non-commissioned staff (p. 659); officers and members of Company A (p. 659); Company B (p. 660); Company C (p. 661); Company D (p. 663); Company E (p. 664); Company F (p. 665); Company G (p. 666); Company H (667); Company K (p. 668).

APPENDIX 7.—ROLL OF REGIMENT IN SERVICE IN BROOKLYN, 1895.

Field staff and Non-commissioned staff (p. 670); officers and members of Company A (p. 670); Company B (p. 671); Company C (p. 672); Company D (p. 673); Company E (p. 674); Company F (p. 676); Company G (p. 677); Company H (p. 678); Company I (p. 679); Company K (p. 679).



## ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Portrait of Adj.-Gen. Porter (from the painting by C. G. Turner), . Frontispiece	
Portrait of Col. James Monroe, . . . . .	7
Officers' Uniform, Union Grays (from photograph, Capt. D. S. Brown), .	16
Sergeants' Uniform, Union Grays (from photograph, Wm. Man), . .	20
Privates' Uniform, Union Grays (from photograph, Isaac L. Doughty), .	22
Burned Arsenal, Harper's Ferry (from author's sketch), . . . . .	36
John Brown's Engine House (from author's sketch), . . . . .	57
Examining Passes (from author's sketch), . . . . .	62
Regimental Officers at Harper's Ferry (from photograph by Brady), .	65
Harper's Ferry (from photograph), . . . . .	69
The Happy Family, Co. A—Homans, Van Brunt, Brewer, Robbins, Schenck and Goldschmidt (photograph), . . . . .	77
Q. M. White, Surgeons Lee and Gallatin, and Chaplain White (photograph),	77
Col. Monroe's Monument (photograph), . . . . .	79
Servants of our Company, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	85
Captain and Sergeants, Co. F (photograph), . . . . .	87
Non-commissioned Staff (photograph), . . . . .	91
Company A, Officers and Men (photograph), . . . . .	93
Capt. and Mrs. Cox, Capt. Post and Lieut. H. C. Oakley (photograph), .	97
Adj. W. J. A. McGrath (photograph), . . . . .	97
Company E, Officers and Men (photograph), . . . . .	99
Fugitive Slaves Passing Picket (from author's sketch), . . . . .	100
Twenty-second at Inspection, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	101
Twenty second in Square, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	101
Guard Mount, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	101
Non-commissioned Officers, Co. C, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . .	105
Mistaken Identity (author's sketch), . . . . .	107
Private off Picket (tin type of author), . . . . .	108
Company A in Line, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	109
Co. G in Line, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	109
Plan of Breastworks on Camp Hill (from author's sketch), . . . . .	111
Right Flank of Camp, inside Breastwork (from author's sketch), . . .	112
Col. D. S. Miles (photograph), . . . . .	113
C. J. Bulkley, N. H. Babcock, W. H. Sheldon, C. and A. Foster (photo- graph), . . . . .	114
Officers and Non-commissioned Officers, Co. G (photograph), . . . . .	115
Company H at Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	119



## Illustrations.

	PAGE
Company D at Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	121
Company F at Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	121
Company G in Column, Harper's Ferry (photograph), . . . . .	121
Q. M. White and Surgeon Lee (photograph), . . . . .	125
Col. Lloyd Aspinwall (photograph), . . . . .	137
Fourteenth Street Armory in Blizzard of 1888 (photograph), . . . . .	139
Maj.-Gen. Chas. W. Sandford (from caricature by Thos. Nast), . . . . .	151
Gen. W. F. (Baldy) Smith (photograph), . . . . .	153
Capt. H. D. Landis and Lieut. Perkins (photograph), . . . . .	160
R. W. Gilder (photograph), . . . . .	161
Fortifying Round House at Bridgeport, Pa. (from author's sketch), . . . . .	180
Inside of Round House (author's sketch), . . . . .	180
Regimental Headquarters under Railroad Bridge opposite Harrisburgh (author's sketch), . . . . .	183
Landis' Battery in Action at Oyster Point, . . . . .	183
Bombardment of Carlisle (from painting in Philadelphia), . . . . .	211
Shelling N. Y. N. G. in Carlisle (from <i>Harper's Weekly</i> ), . . . . .	217
Twenty-second and Landis' Battery at Carlisle (from Powell's painting), . . . . .	231
Crossing Yellow Breeches Creek (author's sketch), . . . . .	262
Landis' Battery ascending South Mountain (from <i>Harper's Weekly</i> ), . . . . .	267
Judge Henry E. Davies, . . . . .	271
Marching through the Mud (cut), . . . . .	290
Making a Fire at Funkstown (author's sketch), . . . . .	292
Camp in the Wood (author's sketch), . . . . .	293
Cleaning the Rifles (author's sketch), . . . . .	298
Bough Shelter (author's sketch), . . . . .	302
Reveille in the Field ( <i>Harper's Weekly</i> ), . . . . .	303
Lieuts. Camp and Ascough, Sergts. Wildey and Pearsall and Private Bogart (photograph), . . . . .	306
Marching through Maryland (author's sketch), . . . . .	321
Drumming out a thief at Monacacy Junction (author's sketch), . . . . .	324
Col. James F. Cox (photograph), . . . . .	352
Col. Geo. B. Post (photograph), . . . . .	353
Adj't. Wm. J. Harding (photograph), . . . . .	355
Col. Wm. W. Remmey (photograph), . . . . .	360
Chasseur Fatigue Uniform (photograph of statuette), . . . . .	376
Col. Porter, Field and Staff, in "Swallow-tailed" Dress Uniform (photo- graph), . . . . .	377
"Swallow tailed" Dress Uniform (photograph of statuette), . . . . .	381
Col. Remmey, Capt. Wingate, Lieut. Freeland and detail in Chasseur Uni- form (photograph), . . . . .	383
Firing Standing (cut), . . . . .	386
Wingate's Target (from Blunt's Manual), . . . . .	388
Firing Kneeling (cut), . . . . .	389
Firing Lying Prone (cut), . . . . .	391



## Illustrations.

	PAGE
Gen. Geo. W. Wingate, Gen. Inspector Rifle Practice (photograph),	393
Regimental Rifle Team of 1873 (photograph),	397
Shaler Badge (cut),	399
<i>Army and Navy Journal</i> Cup (cut)	400
Certificate presented Twenty-second Rifle Team,	401
Rathbone Badge (cut),	402
Entrance to Creedmoor (photograph),	403
200 Yards Firing at Creedmoor (photograph),	403
State Prize (cut),	405
500 Yards Firing at Creedmoor (photograph),	407
300 Yards Firing at Creedmoor (photograph),	407
Twenty-second at Philadelphia Centennial, 1876 (photograph),	439
Twenty-second on Parade, Union Square (photograph),	443
Col. John T. Camp (photograph),	449
Striking Tents, State Camp (photograph),	465
Guard Mount, State Camp (photograph),	466
The Guard, State Camp (photograph),	468
The March to Peekskill (4 photographs),	475
Present Regimental Armory (photograph),	493
Geo. Brown (photograph),	499
Patrick S. Gilmore (photograph),	502
Major Bartlett (photograph),	504
Wrecker Car at Buffalo (cut),	505
Lieut. Col. Wm. V. King (photograph),	507
Sentries at Buffalo (cut),	513
Types of Buffalo Rioters (cut),	515
Marching into Position at Buffalo (cut),	516
	517
Co. A under Del. & H. Trestle (photograph),	518
Camp Bartlett (2 photographs),	519
Commissary Department, Tift Farm (photograph),	521
Camp at Trestle (cut),	526
Attack on Sentries (cut),	528
Co. A. in Action at Buffalo (photograph),	531
Keeping back Rioters at Buffalo (cut),	533
Col. King Sleeping (cut),	536
Capt. Demarest at Buffalo (photograph),	539
Regimental Headquarters at Tift Farm (3 photographs),	541
Guards on Train (cut),	543
Chaplain Wm. N. Dunnell (photograph)	550
Camp King, Buffalo (photograph),	553
Box Cars, used for Quarters (photograph),	555
Guards on Locomotives (photograph),	556
Delivering Supplies (cut),	557
Major Geo. E. B. Hart (photograph),	562





## Illustrations.

	PAGE
Regimental Officers at Buffalo, 1893, . . . . .	567
Regiment at Niagara Falls (cut) . . . . .	569
On Duty at Brooklyn, 1895 (cut), . . . . .	578
The Triumph (cut), . . . . .	607
Colonel and Field and Staff Officers (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 658
Non-commissioned Staff (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 660
Company C (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 662
Company E (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 664
Company G (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 666
Company K (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 668
Colonel, Field, Staff and Line Officers, State Camp, 1895 (photo- graph), . . . . .	opposite 670
Company A and B (photographs) 2 pages, . . . . .	opposite 672
Company D (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 674
Company F (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 676
Company H (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 678
Company I (photograph), . . . . .	opposite 680



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE.  
ALBANY, N. Y.

## PREFACE.

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THIS History has been written at the request of the Board of Officers of the Twenty-second Regiment. While its composition has been a labor of love, it has not the less been a difficult and engrossing task. There are many important omissions in the records, caused, to some extent, by the fire in the armory of the Regiment, but more by the loose way in which books and papers were, prior to 1868, kept in the National Guard, and particularly at Brigade and Division Headquarters in New York City. The lapse of time has also clouded the memories of those who participated in what took place more than thirty years ago.

The author has sought to correct his own recollections, to reconcile the often conflicting statements made to him, and to supply the missing information by an examination of the Rebellion Records (which contain the official orders and correspondence of both the North and South in the War of the Rebellion) as well as of old letters, diaries and newspapers, together with the files of orders, minutes of the Board of Officers, reports of the Adjutant-General's Department of the State, and by correspondence with many persons. This has occupied his leisure hours for the last three years. While many important facts have unquestionably been omitted, those that are given, it is believed, may be relied upon as being accurate.

The author is under great obligations to many officers and members of the Regiment, and to others from whom he has received assistance which has added much to the value of the work. Col. William J. Harding, in particular, besides writing a part of the chapter on the "Orange Riots," has placed at his disposal many important memoranda, files of orders which



## Preface

were not in the possession of the Regiment, newspaper clippings and other information, which have been of the greatest assistance and have added largely to the historical value of the book. Capt. Jos. P. Jardine has supplied much other valuable information. The chapter "A Fight for an Armory" is almost entirely, and that on the "Brooklyn Strike" is very largely, written by him. The chapters upon the "Buffalo Campaign" are based upon accounts received from Lieut.-Col. Wm. V. King, Adjt. Henry H. Treadwell, Sergts. Henry C. Vance and Charles P. Shinn and Mr. R. H. Wevill. Mr. Wevill has also taken charge of the work of preparing the illustrations, and has been of the greatest help in supervising the mechanical portion of the book. In addition to these, Col. James F. Cox, Col. Rufus King, U. S. A., Capt. Henry E. Howland and Capt. Samuel Carey (acting Assistant Adjutant-General on General "Baldy" Smith's staff in 1863), and many others, including Chaplain William H. Dunnell, have revised the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions. Mr. C. G. Turner has kindly permitted the use of his portrait of General Porter, which constitutes the frontispiece.

The author is fully conscious of the many imperfections of his book. He would have preferred that it should be less of a personal character, but this was unavoidable, where, as here, personal recollections had, of necessity, to be so largely drawn upon. He is also painfully aware that he is not an artist, and only reproduces his rough sketches made in the field for want of anything better.

He submits the work to his old comrades, with whom he served during so many of the most pleasant years of his life, and to those who have succeeded him and them in the Twenty-second, in the hope that its defects will be excused in view of the difficulties against which he has had to contend, and for "auld lang syne."

NEW YORK, October 1, 1895.



STATE HISTORIANS' OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

CHAPTER I.

---

ORGANIZATION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT  
N. G. S. N. Y.

---

UNLIKE most of the other regiments of the National Guard of the State of New York, the Twenty-second Regiment is the direct offspring of the War of the Rebellion.

In April, 1861, the national situation was desperate. All the National Guard was at the front. The Capitol was in danger; President Lincoln had called upon them to protect it, and, with more men than they had muskets, every regiment had gone to the seat of war, where the entire regular army was also assembled. This had left the great city of New York and its harbor with no protection other than the police. Under these circumstances, the managers of the banks, insurance companies and other moneyed institutions of the city held a meeting on April 23, 1861, at which it was decided to organize, arm and equip, at their own expense, a brigade for the protection of the city. A committee was appointed, consisting of John T. Denny, A. F. Higgins and Lorillard Spencer, which effected a preliminary organization and published the following advertisement





in the *Evening Post* of Friday, April 26, 1861, among a number of notices, etc., grouped under the head of "The War":

#### UNION GRAYS, ATTENTION!

This Rifle Corps, which was organized at Delmonico's last Tuesday evening, will hold its fourth meeting for business and drill at 53 West Thirteenth Street, this evening, at 8 o'clock. Gentlemen wishing to join are invited to be present.

JOHN T. DENNY.

In the *Evening Post* of Saturday, April 27, 1861, also appears the following advertisement, under the head of "The War," and marked to be published for a week:

#### UNION GRAYS, ATTENTION!

A meeting for drill and business will be held this evening at 8 o'clock, at the Armory, corner of Fourth Street and Broadway, entrance on Fourth Street.

By order,

JOHN T. DENNY,	} Committee.
A. F. HIGGINS,	
LORILLARD SPENCER,	

Such steps were subsequently taken that, in pursuance of a call from Lloyd Aspinwall, a largely-attended public meeting was held on May 13, 1861, at a hall at the southwest corner of Lafayette Place and Fourth Street, at which the new "Home Guard" was formally initiated, several companies being organized upon the spot from those present.

At this meeting there were elected as temporary, or rather civil, officers Lloyd Aspinwall, President; Henry Meigs, Jr., Vice-President; Hugh N. Camp, Secretary, and Wm. B. Meeker, Treasurer, John T. Denny, afterwards Chief of Staff for General William G. Ward,



being chairman of the Recruiting Committee. These were men prominent in Wall Street and in business circles, and represented the banking and commercial interests of the city.

The following gentlemen, who had interested themselves in the organization of the Union Grays, were elected honorary members:

F. S. WINSTON, Mutual Life Insurance Company.

GEORGE T. HOPE, Continental Fire Insurance Company.

NATHANIEL HAYDEN, Chatham Bank.

F. S. LATHROP, Union Mutual Insurance Company.

CHARLES J. MARTIN, Home Insurance Company.

JOHN WADSWORTH.

ED. A. STANSBERRY, Metropolitan Insurance Company.

JAS. M. McLEAN, Citizens' Fire Insurance Company.

WM. H. ASPINWALL, Howland & Aspinwall.

MORRIS FRANKLIN, New York Life Insurance Company.

At this meeting the following was read, being an abstract from the minutes of the committee from the banks and insurance companies which was engaged in promoting the organization of the Union Grays:

*Whereas*, A meeting of the officers and managers of our banks, insurance companies and other moneyed corporations was held at 94 Broadway on Tuesday afternoon, the 23d of April, 1861, to take into consideration and to make arrangements, if deemed advisable, to organize a brigade to coöperate with our Government in protecting this city and district, at which meeting the formation of such a body was determined upon, and appropriate committees were appointed and empowered to carry the same into effect, and

*Whereas*, Such military organization has been formed in this city, under the name of "The Union Grays," composing artillery, cavalry and rifle companies, in conformity with the design and purposes of the above-named institution, and



*Whereas*, The corporations named are contributing funds to aid in the arming, equipping and sustaining the said military corps, a considerable portion of whom are connected with these institutions, and

*Whereas*, It is desirable that the unity of interest and action now existing between these institutions and the military organization shall continue; therefore

*Resolved*, That an executive committee of five persons be appointed to represent the permanent property in arms, etc., contributed or purchased by the Corporation and intended for the use of said military organization, for the purposes stated, and also for any financial purpose which may be necessary in permanently carrying out the objects designed; also

*Resolved*, That said committee hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and have power to fill any vacancy in their body; and also to appoint a treasurer, who shall have the custody of the funds collected, and disburse the same under the direction of the committee; and further

*Resolved*, That it is desirable that the organization and purpose of the committee be formally recognized by the "Association of the Union Grays."

The meeting therefore determined that the committee appointed by the "Bank and Insurance Organization" should be invited to attend all business meetings of the new corps.

The following standing committees were also appointed:

FINANCE.	ARMORY.	EXECUTIVE.
Henry A. Oakley.	John E. Wilsey.	Lloyd Aspinwall.
Wm. E. Dodge, Jr.	— Boyle.	H. Meigs, Jr.
— Smith.	T. Cooper Lord.	H. N. Camp.
W. H. H. Moore.		W. B. Meeker.
Geo. A. Robbins.		H. A. Oakley.
		John E. Wilsey.



These committees, in connection with that representing the banks and insurance companies, proceeded to raise the necessary funds for arming and equipping the Union Grays. It was stated at the time that the amount subscribed was from banks about \$5,000, from insurance companies \$15,000, but, as not unfrequently happens in such cases, this turned out to be an over-estimate.

The amount actually realized was finally reported by the Treasurer as follows:

Contributed by Banks and Insurance Cos....	\$16,435.00
Contributed by Co. G, Union Grays.....	100.00
Turned over by Treasurer.....	1,275.00
Turned over by Lloyd Aspinwall.....	300.00
<hr/>	
Total receipts.....	\$18,110.00
Paid for arms, accoutrements and sundries,	17,624.51
<hr/>	
Balance.....	\$485.49

This left still due by the regiment for its arms and accoutrements \$5,677.60, besides \$230.62 borrowed money, making a deficiency of \$5,422.11, which it was compelled to raise by contributions, concerts, etc.

The committees were fortunate in inducing Col. James Monroe, formerly captain in the Fourth Infantry U. S. A., who had served in the Florida war and also served upon the staff of Gen. Scott, in the Mexican war, and who was the author of several military works, to accept the position of colonel of the new organization.

The companies organized at the meeting of May 13, 1861, were A, C, D, E, G and H, and were formed by the men present grouping themselves in accordance with their previous social or business acquaint-





ance, and selecting as officers those whom they considered best qualified to command them.

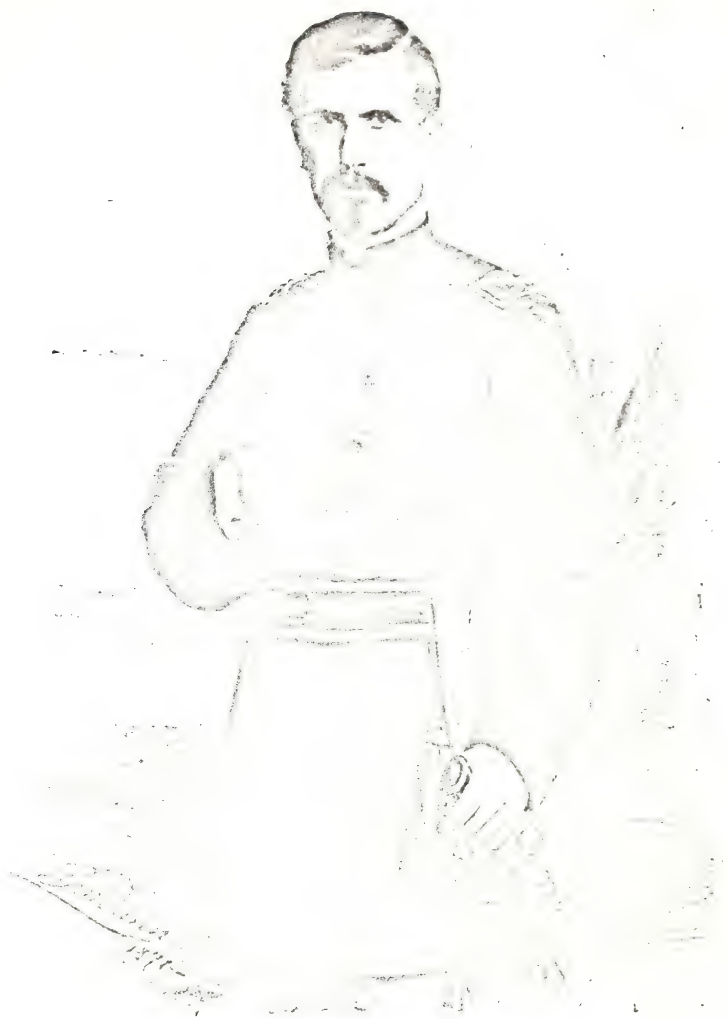
Company A was composed mainly of young men who were prominent in business and social circles in New York, and for a long time claimed to be the "swell company" of the regiment. Among its original numbers were Charles Lanier, Edward M. Townsend, Geo. B. Goldschmidt, Edward C. Lord, Duncan W. Cryder, Richard Irwin, Jr., and David S. Eggleston. Among those subsequently joining were Edward C. Homans, William A. Brewer and Geo. W. Wingate. It elected as its first officers captain, James Otis; first lieutenant, James F. Cox; second lieutenant, George Fuller.

Upon the first organization of the Union Grays, quarters were secured for all the companies upon the second floor of the building on the southwesterly corner of Fourth Street and Lafayette Place, the Twelfth Regiment Armory occupying the floor above. Their stay was short, as the rent was high and the premises inadequate. They were accordingly given up on the first of May, 1861.

During the three years which subsequently elapsed before the regiment was provided with an armory,\* the companies secured accommodations as best they could in different quarters of the city, each company not only paying the rent of the rooms it used, but that of fitting them up, lighting, heating and caring for them. Company A, in connection with Company C, leased the second and third floors of No. 186 Sixth Avenue, next to the "Woodbine," then on the southwest corner of Thirteenth Street. The building leased is still (1895) standing, and is used as a carpet store. Its first floor

\*See Chapter XI., page 140 post





COL. JAMES MONROE.

STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.



was divided into two company rooms, Company A using the front and C the back room. The second floor was used as a drill-room by both. These premises were thus jointly occupied by these companies until the erection of the regimental armory in Fourteenth Street, in 1864. The quarters were very cramped. Those who are accustomed to the freedom of movement permitted in the spacious new armories now constructed for National Guard organizations, will marvel how a company sixty strong could drill in a space of twenty by seventy-five feet, particularly under the stiff movements of the old tactics. Yet this was the size of the usual drill rooms.

The companies had, however, never been accustomed to anything better, and therefore did not complain. The main drilling was of necessity in the "manual" and marching by a flank. Nothing but the simplest movements could be practiced in the drill-room, and in consequence, the companies frequently drilled in the walks of Washington Square, when the weather permitted.

The following is a copy of one of the first orders issued. It is printed upon a card three and a half by two and a half inches, and is noticeable for the many respects in which it varies from the regulations:

#### COMPANY A—UNION GRAYS.

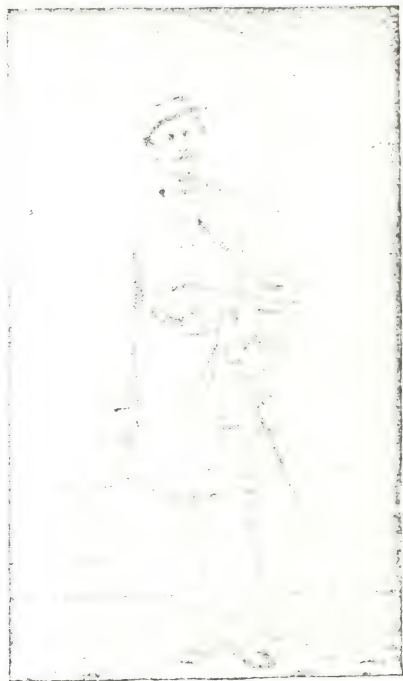
In pursuance of General Orders No. 2, all members of Company A are hereby ordered to assemble at their Armory, 185 Sixth Avenue, in uniform, on Wednesday evening, June 12, 1861, at 7½ o'clock, for batallion drill.

JAMES OTIS, *Captain.*

F. OTIS, *Orderly.*



Company B did not join the Twenty-second until November 11, 1861. This company was composed of the members of an organization known as the "Federal Chasseurs," which had been formed under the leadership of Col. "Pony" Farnham (afterwards colonel of the First Fire Zouaves), from the members of Wood's Gymnasium. It was organized upon the Zouave model, in the style of the "Ellsworth's Zouaves," a Chicago company which had shortly before made a tour of the United States, giving a series of exhibition drills which had excited great admiration, although at the present day their evolutions would be considered more gymnastic than military. Among the first members of Company B were David S. Brown, afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-second; George Moore Smith, now (1895) lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh; Wm. W. Remmey and John T. Camp, both of whom afterwards became colonels of the Twenty-second, and Thomas C. Cullen, who was afterwards its lieutenant-colonel.



OFFICER'S UNIFORM.

CAPT. DAVID S. BROWN, B COMPANY.





The Federal Chasseurs were uniformed with blue jackets and red Zouave trousers, and drilled at the corner of Fourth and Mercer Streets. When "Pony" Farnham gave up their command for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the First Fire Zouaves, Geo. Moore Smith became captain. In May, 1861, he joined the Seventh, and shortly afterwards the Chasseurs decided to join the Twenty-second. A portion of them, under the leadership of David S. Brown joined Company B and secured drill rooms in Sixth Avenue, opposite Clinton Place. The original officers of Company B were: Captain, David S. Brown; second lieutenant, Aaron C. Allan, the position of first lieutenant being vacant.

Company C was organized at the meeting of May 13, 1862, by Capt. George B. Post (afterwards colonel of the regiment). It elected him as its captain; J. Henderson Grant as first and H. Cruger Oakley as second lieutenant.

Its drill rooms were the same as those used by Company A. Lieut. Grant having been appointed regimental adjutant, Lieut. Oakley was promoted to be first lieutenant November 1, 1861, and W. J. A. McGrath was elected second lieutenant.

Company D had its inception in a military association which had been organized in one day by a number of those engaged in insurance companies in Wall Street and its vicinity, at the outbreak of the Civil War. The first meeting of the association was held May 9, 1861, in an insurance office down town, and on May 13, 1861, it was organized as a military body and A. Foster Higgins having been reported "to be the most fully qualified for commanding officer," was elected captain.



At this meeting the company decided to become a portion of the Union Grays. It subsequently secured a drill room on the upper floors of the building at the corner of Seventh Street and Hall Place, which it occupied until the erection of the Fourteenth Street Armory.

Its first officers were A. Foster Higgins, captain, and Richard Vose, first lieutenant. M. Floyd Reading was elected second lieutenant Oct. 31, 1861, but resigned April 29, 1862.

Company E was one of the companies which was organized at the general meeting in Fourth Street. It was composed largely of officers and employees of different banks. It selected as captain John E. Wilsey, who had had considerable experience in commanding an independent company known as the "Baxter Blues." Its first lieutenant was Geo. W. Finch (who resigned in April, 1862), and James H. Aikman, second lieutenant. It established its drill room and company quarters over a stable on the southeasterly corner of University Place and Thirteenth Street. Brig.-Gen. Ulysses Doubleday, Geo. B. Germond, Austin Adams and E. S. Connor were among its first members.

On account of internal dissensions, it was disbanded in 1863, and a number of its officers and men, uniting with a number from Company K, formed the One-hundred-and-Second New York Volunteers, of which Capt. Wilsey became colonel. Its letter remained vacant until 1868. It was then reorganized by a number of the members of Company B, under the leadership of Capt. John T. Camp (afterwards colonel of the regiment), who thought that they could be of more



service to the regiment and to the State in a new company, of which the regiment was then in need—it having but nine companies—than they could in their old company.

Company F was composed of a number of the Federal Chasseurs, who, instead of joining B Company, on January 8, 1862, united with Edward A. Landers in forming a new company. This had drill rooms on the fourth floor of a building in Sixth Avenue, opposite Clinton Place. It elected as captain, Albert N. Francis, formerly captain of a well-known independent company. George H. Bellows was first lieutenant and Edward A. Landers, second lieutenant.

Prior to the meeting of May 13, 1861, there were in New York a number of unattached military companies, forming no part of the regular National Guard, which had been previously organized under the growing apprehension of trouble that had existed in the public mind for some time. A number of these availed themselves of the organization of the Union Grays to enroll themselves as members. Among these were the City Cadets, which joined as Companies G and H. This had its origin in "The White Ball Club" which was formed in 1858, and was named after Charles Trumbull White. Among the leading spirits of this club were George De Forest Lord, Walter Edwards, Fred. Sturges, A. G. Agnew and Thomas Denny. The club was remarkable for nothing more than the social standing of its members, who were among the *jeunesse doree* of that period. On April 22, 1861, the club held a meeting at the house of Mr. White, 381 Fifth Avenue, and decided to form themselves into a drill club, "for the purpose



of defending the lives and property of the citizens and the harbor of New York, in the absence of the regular militia, who had gone to the war." John E. Parsons presided and Dr. Benjamin Lee acted as secretary. Thirty names were signed to the roll, among whom were Wm. E. Dodge, Jr., A. M. Parsons, Jr., Henry A. Oakley, William C. Soutter, Henry C. Sector, Henry E. Howland, N. P. Rogers, T. Hoadly and Charles Trumbull White. Three days later the company met at 1139 Broadway, and was drilled by Chas. W. Sy, then a corporal of the Seventh. Afterwards Col. W. W. Tompkins\* (of the Second N. Y. S. M.) was elected drill master, sixteen new names were added to the roll, and the following officers were elected: President, B. F. Butler; secretary, Dr. Benj. Lee; treasurer, Henry A. Oakley. Among those who joined were Albion P. Man, Henry Fairchild, W. H. Anthon, Francis F. Marbury and C. H. Ludington. The company took the name of the City Cadets, decided to drill three times a week, and thereafter continued as a regular military organization. On May 8, 1861, it had increased to such numbers that it was divided into two companies, the officers of Company A (which was composed mostly from members of the Young Men's Christian Association of Dr. Alexander's Presbyterian Church, Fifth Avenue and Nineteenth Street, which made it the religious company of the regiment) being: B. F. Butler, captain; Geo. De F. Lord, first lieutenant, and Geo. N. Lieber, second lieutenant, and those of Company B being Capt. John E. Parsons and Lieuts. Walter Edwards and H. S. Rogers. These companies were present at the meeting at which the Union Grays

\* George W. B. Tompkins.  
H. H.  
May 22. 97.





was organized, and joined it in a body, Company A joining as Company G and Company B as Company H.

These companies leased drill rooms at the corner of Seventh Street and Hall Place, in connection with Company D.

Col. Monroe was desirous of organizing two flank- ing companies to act as skirmishers. A nucleus of about twenty-five men was formed, who, although not organized and without officers, hired a drill sergeant, and drilled an hour daily in the early morning for several weeks, intending to join the regiment as Company B. The drill was very severe, at least in hot weather, involving much "double-quicking" besides bayonet drill and gymnastic evolutions, and it was difficult to build up the company. The idea of flank companies was finally abandoned, and the members all joined Company H, one of them, First Sergeant R. Suydam Grant, being made captain of that company on January 2, 1861, Capt. John E. Parsons, its original captain, having then resigned. Its other officers were: First lieutenant, Walter Edwards, Jr.; second lieutenant, Charles Lord (who resigned January 16, 1862).

Company I was not organized until the Twenty-second was starting upon its campaign of 1862. The history of its organization is therefore given at page 36 posterior. After its return from Virginia it leased a company and drill room at the corner of Broadway and Thirty-second Street.

Company K was organized in February, 1863. It was then realized that the war was to be protracted and that it was nearly certain that the State Militia, as they were then termed, would be called into the field during



the approaching summer. It was also seen that the various "independent companies" which, prior to the war, had formed the *elite* of the city militia, were of little military value, and one after the other joined the different regiments or disbanded.

One of the most prominent of these was the Lindsay Blues, which joined the Twenty-second as Company K, under the command of Capt. Edgar A. Roberts, Thomas Price being its first lieutenant and Henry T. White second lieutenant. This company was disbanded in 1863. Subsequently, with some of the members of Company E, its officers organized the One-hundred-and-Second N. Y. Volunteers. The colonelcy was given to Capt. Wilsey of Company E; Capt. Roberts was made major. The adjutant and quartermaster were Henry White and Thomas Price, the first and second lieutenants of K. In fact, with the exception of the colonel, all the field, staff and line of the One-hundred-and-Second, were composed of the officers, non-commissioned officers and members of Company K. Sergt. Thomas H. C. Kinkaid was captain of Company A, Private Duncan C. Graham of Company E, and Sergeant Rich of Company R in the One-hundred-and-Second.\*

The following is the first general order issued to the Twenty-second Regiment :

HEADQUARTERS UNION GRAYS,  
NEW YORK, May 20, 1861.

*General orders No. 1.*

I. The undersigned, by virtue of an election held by the company officers on the 18th inst., hereby assumes command of the regiment.

\*See Appendix, Part II., post.



II. An inspection and review of the regiment will be held at the rendezvous in Fourth Street at 8 o'clock P. M. of Thursday, the 23rd inst.

III. Within two days after the inspection above directed, commanders of companies will furnish to the regimental commander, a field return of their companies which will state the number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and the rank and file of their respective companies. A memorandum will be added below, on the face of the field return, stating how far the company has advanced in drill. Hardee's system is adopted as that which will be followed by the battalion of infantry. The returns will likewise specify the number of members of the companies that are uniformed, or partly in uniform. The situation of the drill rooms will likewise be mentioned and the days and hours set apart for drill.

IV. Lloyd Aspinwall is hereby appointed acting adjutant of the corps, and will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

V. In conformity with army regulations, all reports, returns and communications addressed to regimental headquarters will be made to the adjutant.

J. MONROE,

*Colonel Commanding.*

On March 16, 1862, the Twenty-second made the first of the many parades which it was subsequently to make as escort for those who fell in the field in the defence of their country; Companies A, D, F and G parading as escort to the remains of <sup>\*</sup>Lieut. Henry Hedden of the Lincoln First New York Cavalry, who had greatly distinguished himself. The thanks of the First Cavalry were subsequently tendered to the regiment for the honor done to one of its officers by this parade. At this time Col. Monroe issued another general order prescribing a thorough course of instruction. All companies were required to begin with squad drill and

*\* Hidden.*

*H. H.*



proceed systematically through the schools of the soldier and company. Recruit squads were ordered to be established. Captains were required to examine the non-commissioned officers of their companies in the first part of the tactics, and to read to their men the articles of war and the regulations. Salutes were strictly enjoined. Wing drills were also ordered.

The following was the strength of the different companies on April 1, 1862 :

Co.	SERGT.	MEMBERS.	TOTAL.
A	5	56	61
B	4	26	30
C	4	40	44
D	5	64	69
E	4	38	42
F	4	28	32
G	5	85	90
H	4	23	27
Aggregate,			<hr/> 395







## CHAPTER II.

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### FIRST UNIFORMS, ARMS AND OFFICERS.

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PROBABLY no military organization has ever been formed in any city which contained, in the first instance, so many well-known and influential men as those who composed the Union Grays. Through their influence, and under the prestige which was justly attached to the name of Colonel Monroe, the ranks of the regiment were rapidly filled up, in spite of the fact that the volunteer regiments in the field were absorbing almost everybody having military inclinations. It soon numbered over 400 men. They adopted as their uniform a single-breasted frock coat, cut in the French style, with the skirt reaching to the knee, made of gray cloth, with red collar and cuffs, trimmed with white piping. The trousers were of gray, with a red stripe edged with white piping down the sides; the cap was a gray kepi, with red band and top, each edged with white piping. Yellow leathern leggins were afterwards adopted, which were greatly liked in the field, excluding the dust and keeping the trousers free from mud. The uniform and equipments were paid for by the men themselves. No more tasteful or trim-looking uniform has ever been seen in the City of New York than this, and the



wearers were soon known as the Strawberry Grays. They also decided upon a gray fatigue jacket, but it was never procured. Application was made at once to the State and Federal Government for arms for the new organization, but none were to be had, the authorities being at their wits' end to supply the troops then at the front with guns. So great was the demand that Belgian guns of antiquated pattern, which were as apt to go off at half-cock as not, were being imported at high prices in order to arm the volunteers. Under these circumstances, the Union Grays purchased and imported Enfield rifles from England for their own use.

These, unlike many of the guns which the Government was purchasing, were well-made and serviceable weapons. They were provided with sword bayonets, which presented a very formidable appearance, but which subsequent experience in the field led the men to think were inferior to the triangular bayonet. The average opinion was that they made the "rifles" "muzzle-heavy," and were useless, even for chopping wood. Unlike American rifles, the parts of which are made interchangeable, those of each of the Enfields used by the Twenty-second were different from the other. This difference was



SERGEANT'S UNIFORM.  
SERGEANT WM. MAN, COMPANY H.



too slight to be detected by the eye, but it was sufficient to constitute an intense annoyance in service. If a man did not pick up his own gun, which was frequently the case on duty, his bayonet would not fit, and when the guns were taken apart to be cleaned, if the parts belonging to two guns were mixed, it was a most aggravating task to separate them. The sergeants' rifles were much shorter than the others.

The Union Grays, after giving up the Fourth Street building, secured temporary office-room for headquarters at what was then the New York State Arsenal, in White Street, and proceeded most diligently to get itself into something like military shape, under the direction of Col. Monroe, Lloyd Aspinwall, who had been made lieutenant-colonel, and J. Henderson Grant, adjutant.

Col. James Monroe was a man of medium size, with rather dark complexion, black mustache and imperial, having somewhat the appearance of Gen. Geo. B. McClellan, although much darker. He was quiet and gentle in his manners, but a stern disciplinarian and an accomplished soldier. He was extremely popular in the regiment, which had the greatest respect for and confidence in him. His service in the Florida War had sapped his constitution, and frequently placed him upon the sick-list. He was taken sick at Baltimore, and although he rejoined the regiment at Harper's Ferry, and assumed command July 8, 1862, he was seldom able afterwards personally to command the regiment, or even to stay in camp. His endeavor to do so produced a relapse, which caused his death July 31, 1862. Gen. Miles had a great respect for his opinion, and if he had



lived, it is probable that the shameful surrender of Harper's Ferry would never have occurred.\*

The members of the regiment made up by industry and enthusiasm for their lack of previous military knowledge. Some of the companies drilled every night and all three times a week, during the summer. At one time even a down town drill room was used. As the weather was hot and the drill rooms small, the companies drilled a great deal in Washington Square. There were also frequent battalion drills which were carried on according to a prescribed programme. Those of the companies whose officers were without sufficient previous experience to make them competent instructors, employed special drill masters. The progress made was very rapid, and the companies soon began to present a military appearance.

Col. Monroe had on every Tuesday a course of theoretical instruction and skeleton drills for the officers and a school for the guides. He also required the important parts of the articles of war and of the army



PRIVATE'S UNIFORM.

PRIVATE ISAAC L. DOUGHTY, D COMPANY.

\* See Chapter VIII., page 113 post





regulations to be read to the companies. It is characteristic of the times that one of the first things that was done was to require all officers and men to take the oath of allegiance. Also that the resignation and election of non-commissioned officers were published in general orders.

After September, 1862, the regiment had become sufficiently instructed, so that only one drill a week was had.

It had been contemplated to have a Brooklyn company, but this was given up after it was found that the Union Grays intended to join the State militia.

While the intention of those who organized it, and of the financiers who had contributed to its equipment, was that the Union Grays should devote itself to the defence of the city, the members of the regiment soon became very restive under the idea. Troops were daily moving to the front, through the streets of the city, men were falling in the field and the members of the Union Grays were far from pleased at the cry of "Home Guard," which their gray uniform was apt to elicit from the small boys on their way to and from drill. On June 25, 1861, shortly after the organization was equipped, the Board of Officers of the Union Grays passed a resolution stating that it was their desire to be of real service to the community and to secure a permanent existence, and they therefore desired to become a part of the regular State militia. That any funds contributed by those who objected to this being done should be returned. The matter was submitted to the different companies who decided by a practically unanimous vote to become part of the State troops.



The officers accordingly made application to the State authorities to be mustered into the State service as a part of the regular National Guard. Their application was granted, and after considerable delay, they were mustered into the service with eight companies as the Twenty-second Regiment N. G. S. N. Y. on September 17, 1861, Gen. Burnside and staff honoring the occasion with their presence. The field officers were re-elected October 4, 1861. A formal presentation of colors was made to the regiment October 16, 1861, at which time the names of the regimental staff were announced in orders.

Its action in becoming a part of the National Guard caused a considerable reduction in the strength of the Twenty-second. The cashiers and most of the clerks of some of the banks, particularly the Metropolitan, had originally joined the regiment with the idea that it would be exclusively a home guard. It was impossible for them all to serve in an organization which might be compelled at any time to be ordered into active service and many of them were consequently obliged to withdraw from the companies they had joined. The following is the roster of the officers at that time:

ORIGINAL OFFICERS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT  
N. G. S. N. Y.

Colonel, James Monroe.

Lieutenant-Colonel, Lloyd Aspinwall.

Major, vacant.

Adjutant, J. Henderson Grant.

Engineer, James Renwick, Jr.



Commissary, Henri M. Braem.

Surgeon, vacant.

Quartermaster, Charles Trumbull White.

Assistant Quartermaster, O. W. Bird.

Paymaster, W. B. Meeker.

Assistant Surgeon, Benjamin Lee, M. D.

Chaplain, Rev. John Cotton Smith.

Band Master, F. B. Helmsmuller.

Captain A, James Otis.

“ B, vacant.

“ C, George B. Post.

“ D, A. Foster Higgins.

“ E, John M. Wilsey.

“ F, Albert N. Francis.

“ G, Benjamin F. Butler.

“ H, John E. Parsons.

First Lieutenant A, James F. Cox.

“ “ B, vacant.

“ “ C, H. Cruger Oakley.

“ “ D, Richard Vose.

“ “ E, Geo. W. Finch.

“ “ F, G. H. Bellows.

“ “ G, Geo. De F. Lord.

“ “ H, Walter Edwards, Jr.

Second Lieutenant A, George Fuller.

“ “ B, vacant.

“ “ C, vacant.

“ “ D, vacant.

“ “ E, James H. Aikman.

“ “ F, E. A. Landers.

“ “ G, Henry A. Oakley.

“ “ H, vacant.



The respective seniority of the officers was settled by drawing lots, the result being as follows: 1, A; 2, D; 3, C; 4, E; 5, H, and 6, G. Their commissions were delivered to them, and they were sworn in on October 31, 1861.

Among the many changes effected by the War of the Rebellion, there is none greater than that which has taken place in the National Guard. Before that time, military organizations were more social than military. They were practically self-supporting. The State provided arms, belts and cartridge boxes, but, in the case of the Twenty-second, not even these. Everything else was paid for by the men, even including the rent of the armories, with the exception of a few organizations which had drill rooms over Tompkins, Centre and Essex Markets. What battalion drills there were, and these were but few, were held in the White Street Arsenal or in Tompkins Square, then an open plaza, or in the fields at East New York. The manual of arms of the different organizations was good, and street parades were well conducted, except that a delay of an hour or two in forming and marching was the rule rather than the exception; but here instruction, as a rule, stopped. Discipline, in any strict sense of the term, hardly existed. When men became dissatisfied, they resigned, as from any other club, and that ended it. Court martials were held, but fines could not be enforced.

The strain of actual war changed all this, at least in the regiments. Men learned that an order was something to be obeyed, and that street parades were only an infinitesimal part of the art of war.





But until Gen. Alex. Shaler was appointed to the command of the First Division in 1868, there was practically no attention paid to the regulations in relation to official books or correspondence, and brigade and division headquarters, regarded from the present standpoint, were a farce. While the regiments imbibed proper military ideas from their service in the field, such ideas were slow to extend beyond them, and when Maj.-Gen. Sandford turned over the command of the First Division to Gen. Aspinwall, at the close of the war, after commanding it over twenty years, the writer was informed by Gen. Aspinwall that all the headquarter records he received from his predecessor "did not fill a hat!" \*

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\* See also Chapter XIII., page 150 post





## CHAPTER III.

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### THE FIRST CALL TO THE FIELD.

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THE spring of 1862 opened with bright prospects for the Union Army, which did not long continue. McClellan, with the army of the Potomac, was advancing through the swamps of the Chickahominy towards Richmond, but with such deliberation that he was dubbed "the great Virginia Creeper." To protect Washington, Gen. N. P. Banks held the Shenandoah Valley. He was a greater orator and politician than a general, and but little confidence was felt that he would be able to withstand the attack that anyone with the slightest military knowledge could see was inevitable. In May, what everyone had foreseen came to pass. Jackson, leaving Richmond, struck Banks, in the hope, by defeating him and threatening Washington, to force McClellan to withdraw from Richmond. The result was another of the many "retirements" up the valley towards Harper's Ferry, which subsequently became so frequent as to cause the Army of the Shenandoah to win the name of "Harper's Weekly." The coming storm was anticipated by the members of the Twenty-second long before it broke, and the expectation that they would be called upon for active service was in the minds



of all. In order to be in readiness for service, the Twenty-second, on May 20, 1862, decided to have a ten days' encampment. This never took place.

On Monday, May 26, 1862, the newspapers announced in "display head-lines":

### "RETREAT OF GEN. BANKS!"

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SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF THE REBELS IN HEAVY FORCE.

---

OUR TROOPS DRIVEN FROM FRONT ROYAL WITH  
CONSIDERABLE LOSS.

---

RETIREMENT OF GENERAL BANKS TO WINCHESTER ON SATURDAY.  
FURTHER RETIREMENT TO MARTINSBURGH FROM WINCHESTER  
ON SUNDAY."

\* \* \* \* \*

### "EXCITEMENT IN BALTIMORE."

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INSOLENCE OF THE SECESSIONISTS THERE."

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Then followed the statement that "despatches to the War Department stated that General Banks had been attacked at Winchester, and had fallen back to Martinsburgh and Harper's Ferry; that the enemy were reported to be in large force, and that many reports stated that the rebel force had left Richmond and moved North to take the offensive"; that there was almost a riot in Baltimore, and then the fact that "Secretary Stanton had appealed to the loyal states for troops."

Following this came the long-expected announcement:



## "HIGHLY IMPORTANT MOVEMENT.

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### NEW YORK STATE MILITIA ORDERED TO WASHINGTON,"

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preceding a statement that the Governor had ordered the Fifth Artillery and the Seventh, Eighth, Eleventh, Thirty-seventh and Seventy-first N. G. of New York City, and the Twenty-fifth of Albany to leave for Washington, which was followed during the day by the publication from General Headquarters S. N. Y. of Special Orders 124 and 125 to the same effect.

The omission of the Twenty-second from these orders spread consternation among its members. It is true that it had been organized to protect New York, but the fixed and clear idea of the officers and men was that the best place to protect it was from "the front." To them the idea of remaining at home while all the other city regiments took the field, was insupportable.

The Board of Officers of the regiment met at noon on May 26, and telegraphed Gov. Edwin D. Morgan, tendering the services of the regiment, stating that it would become demoralized unless ordered off, and urging its acceptance in the strongest terms, and adjourned until 3 p. m. for his reply. When they re-assembled at this hour an answer by telegraph was received accepting the offer, accompanied by Special Order No. 130, which included the Twenty-second among those which were ordered to Washington. The intelligence was received with tumultuous cheers by the officers, which were echoed and re-echoed by the men, who had assembled in crowds to learn the result. These cheers were a signal of the end of the "Home Guard"





and the appearance of the Twenty-second Regiment. The following is the official order:

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,  
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, Albany, May 26, 1862. }

*Special Order No. 130.*

The Eighth, Eleventh, Twenty-second, Thirty-seventh and Seventy-first Regiments will at once proceed to Washington. The commandants of the several regiments will make requisitions upon the chiefs of the several departments of this State for such arms, ammunition, equipments and supplies as they may require for the use of their regiments.

Upon application to Col. George Bliss, Jr., No. 51 Walker Street, they will receive orders for transportation.

Upon their arrival in Washington the commandants of the several regiments will report to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

THOMAS HILLHOUSE, *Adjutant-General.*

At this meeting the officers adopted the Army blue flannel fatigue coat as a field uniform.

The Board of Officers of the Twenty-second met again the same evening, and elected A. Foster Higgins major (to fill the existing vacancy), and proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for a speedy departure. At each of the company armories issues were made on each man of a blue blouse (the regiment having no fatigue uniform, although it had been the subject of many discussions, and a gray jacket had been adopted), knapsack, blanket, haversack and canteen. Everything else the men provided at their own expense. The next morning Col. Monroe issued the following formal order:



HEADQUARTERS TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT,  
NATIONAL GUARD, S. N. Y.,  
NEW YORK, May 27, 1862. }

*General Orders No. 9.*

In obedience to Special Orders No. 130, from General Headquarters, the regiment will assemble at regimental headquarters, corner of Hall Place and Seventh Street, at 8 o'clock P.M., this 27th inst., fully armed and equipped for service.

Each man will provide himself with one day's rations, and will carry with him an additional pair of pants and shoes, two pair of socks (woolen preferable), and suitable underclothing, a knife, fork and spoon. Equipments will be distributed at headquarters at 12 M. Officers will be allowed a small trunk, which must be marked with the name of the owner and company. A servant is allowed to each company.

The regimental line will be formed on Union Square at 6:15 o'clock P.M. The band and drummers will report to the adjutant at regimental headquarters at 6 o'clock precisely. The non-commissioned staff will report at headquarters at 8 o'clock A.M.

The resignation of Sergt.-Maj. T. G. Pratt, on furlough in Europe, is hereby accepted, to date from the 16th of May, inst.

First Sergt. Charles A. Post is appointed sergeant-major, *vice* Pratt, resigned, to rank from the same date.

By order of

COL. JAMES MONROE,  
J. HENDERSON GRANT, *Adjutant.*

The regiment assembled according to this order, and was inspected, but its departure was necessarily postponed until transportation could be provided, and the men returned to their homes. All the day of May 28, 1862, the men crowded their different company armories, eagerly waiting for orders, and torn with



anxiety lest they might be retained to protect the city. During the afternoon their anxiety was set at rest by the announcement of the following :

HEADQUARTERS TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT,  
NEW YORK, Wednesday, May 28, 1862. }

*General Order No. 10.*

In obedience to Special Order No. 130, from General Headquarters, the regiment will assemble at regimental headquarters at 7 o'clock this evening, to proceed to Washington, in uniform, with overcoats (worn), knapsacks, haversacks, and canteens.

Each man will provide himself with one day's rations and water in his canteen. Blankets and ordnance stores will be delivered on board the boat. Officers' baggage must be delivered at headquarters at 5 P. M.

The line will be formed at Lafayette Place at 7:15 o'clock. The band, drummers, non-commissioned staff, colors and color-guard will report to the adjutant at headquarters at 7 o'clock.

All surplus company arms and accoutrements will be sent immediately to regimental headquarters, to be placed in stores.

First sergeants will be prepared to report the number of recruits and members of the company separately.

Capt. Butler will detail a guard of a corporal and three privates to report to the quartermaster at 5 o'clock precisely.

By order of

COL. JAMES MONROE,  
J. HENDERSON GRANT, *Adjutant.*



## CHAPTER IV.

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### THE DEPARTURE FOR BALTIMORE.

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IN compliance with this order the companies of the Twenty-second assembled at the armory, corner of Hall Place and Seventh Street, at the hour named, and marched to Lafayette Place where the regiment was formed, 550 strong.

Some of the leave-takings at the armory and Lafayette Place were very affecting. Women were crying and men shook hands with a startling vehemence. The officers and men were in excellent spirits, and did their best to keep up those of their friends. Some of the men who had recently joined had not time to obtain uniforms, but marched in citizen's clothes, with knapsacks on their backs.

Owing to unavoidable delays, the line was not formed until 8:30 P. M., and the time was spent in bidding friends "good bye," arranging for the formation of squads as tent mates, joking, singing patriotic songs and cheering.

None of those who were then present will ever forget that occasion. As the hour of departure arrived, the regiment formed in column of companies, at half





distance, surrounded by a throng of wildly excited and enthusiastic friends and relatives assembled to bid them farewell, who jammed the sidewalks and streets and even crowded between the companies. About 9 o'clock the band, after playing a few airs, finally struck up "John Brown's Body," the regiment and the crowd around them took it up in a vast swell of sound that pealed like a great organ, and as the song ended, all burst into a deafening uproar of cheers, in the midst of which the column started. Broadway, from Fourth Street to the Battery, was lined with a solid mass of people, who packed the sidewalks and encroached upon the street so that it was with difficulty that the troops could make their way, and the passage of the regiment was accompanied by a steady roar of cheers, which drowned all orders. The excitement may be judged from the fact that, as the regiment was squeezing its way through the throng, an old man seized the hand of one of the men and *kissed it*, to the intense astonishment of its owner. Throughout the entire length of Broadway colored fires were burned, as the regiment approached, and in passing the Astor House the sky was illuminated with a discharge of fireworks. Arriving at Pier 2, East River, the regiment embarked on board the boat at 11 P. M., and after a long delay at Camden, was finally placed in cattle cars, on the hard floors of which the men packed themselves as closely as possible. Some at once fell asleep, so worn out with fatigue and excitement that they were unconscious of anything until they reached Philadelphia. But the majority, full of the irrepressible spirits of youth, sang songs, and otherwise "carried on" nearly all night.



When it was known that the Twenty-second was ordered to the front, numbers of recruits flocked to join it. Among these was Hamlin Babcock (afterwards lieutenant-colonel of N. Y. Volunteers), then an alderman, who applied to Col. Monroe to be enlisted as a private. He was told that he was too influential a man to accept that position and that he could do more good to his country by assisting in organizing a company of which the regiment was in need. He hesitated, as he had no previous military experience, but finally consented to accept a first lieutenancy in Company I. The captaincy of the new company was given to Asa Bird Gardner, since Assistant Judge Advocate General U. S. A., then a lieutenant in a volunteer regiment, and Charles S. Smith was appointed second lieutenant. By their exertions a full company was organized that same day. It was impossible, however, to procure the uniforms and arms for the new company, and they were therefore unable to accompany the regiment.

The equipments were, however, obtained the next day, distributed and the company organized. It followed the regiment at once and joined it at Baltimore. The rifles issued to it were different from those used by the rest of the regiment, having shank bayonets instead of sword bayonets. The latter were not procured until the following year.

The following is a roster of the officers of the Twenty-second in this campaign :

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

Colonel, James Monroe.

Lieutenant Colonel, Lloyd Aspinwall.



Adjutant, J. Henderson Grant (*elected major in the field, July, 1862*).

Adjutant, W. J. A. McGrath (*appointed in place of Maj. Grant*).

Commissary, Geo. McClure.

Quartermaster, Chas. T. White.

Paymaster, Henry A. Oakley (*appointed in the field from Co. G*).

Surgeon, Benjamin Lee.

Assistant Surgeon, Albert H. Gallatin.

Chaplain, Rev. John Cotton Smith (*only present occasionally*) and Erskine White, Acting Chaplain.

#### NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Sergeant-Major, Osborne E. Bright (*appointed in the field*).

Quartermaster Sergeant, Jotham W. Post.

Sergt. Standard Bearers, William Lamonby and Geo.

V. W. House.

Commissary Sergeant, John C. Thompson.

Right General Guide, Albert Wyckoff.

Left General Guide, May Goldschmidt.

#### LINE OFFICERS.

Co. A, Capt. James Otis.

" B, Capt. David S. Brown.

" C, George B. Post.

" D, J. Farley Cox (*elected in the field*)

" E, John N. Wilsey.

" F, Capt. Albert N. Francis.

" G, Capt. Benjamin F. Butler.

" H, Capt. R. Suydam Grant.

" I, Capt. Asa Bird Gardner.

" A, First Lieutenant George Fuller (*promoted in the field*).



Co. B, First Lieutenant Aaron C. Allan (*promoted in the field*).

Co. C, First Lieutenant H. Cruger Oakley.

Co. D, First Lieutenant Joseph F. Baldwin (*elected in the field*).

Co. E, First Lieutenant George W. Finch.

“ F, “ “ George H. Bellows.

“ G, “ “ George De F. Lord.

“ H, “ “ Walter Edwards.

“ I, “ “ Hamlin Babcock.

“ A, Second Lieutenant David B. Gilbert (*promoted in the field*).

Co. B, Second Lieutenant W. W. Remmey (*promoted in the field*).

Co. C, Second Lieutenant Charles A. Post (*elected in the field, vice W. J. A. McGrath, appointed adjutant*).

Co. D, Second Lieutenant Thomas L. Thornell (*promoted in the field*).

Co. E, Second Lieutenant James F. Aikman.

Co. F, Second Lieutenant Edward A. Landers.

Co. G, Second Lieutenant W. A. Gibson (*promoted in the field*).

Co. H, Second Lieutenant William Man (*promoted in the field*).

Neither Capt. Higgins nor First Lieut. Vose of D Company were able to accompany the regiment, and First Lieut. Jas. F. Cox (A Company) was detailed to its command. He was subsequently elected its captain while in the field, and vacancies in other companies were also filled. This raised an interesting point of military law as to whether the failure of a commissioned officer to accompany his regiment to the front vacated





his commission. The State authorities decided that it did, and issued commissions to the officers so elected. After the return of the regiment, there was some demurring on the part of a few to this, but the action was sustained. In the case of one officer of the Twenty-second who insisted upon remaining, the Board of Officers passed a resolution requesting his resignation.

The following National Guard regiments were sent from **New York** in response to this call:

REGTS.	COLONELS.	DATE OF DEPARTURE.	STRENGTH.
7	Marshall Lefferts.	May 26	700
8	Joshua G. Varian.	" 29	820
11	Joachim Maidhof.	" 28	630
12	Wm. G. Ward.	June 6	805
13	Robt. B. Clark.	May 30	762
19	Wm. R. Brown.	June 4	600
22	James Monroe.	May 28	625
25	Michael Bryan.	June 4	550
37	Charles Roome.	May 29	600
47	J. V. Meserole.	" 30	666
69	James Bagley.	" 28	1000
71	Henry P. Martin.	" 28	800
Total,			8,588

Other organizations tendered their services, but the Secretary of War decided not to call for them, and they were relieved from duty.

The Twenty-second arrived at Philadelphia early in the morning and marched directly to the famous "Cooper Shop." This was a large frame building near the depot, which was used as a "rest house" for troops going to the front. When a regiment arrived, the bell on the shop was rung, and from far and near women and



men came with pails of coffee, loaves of bread, etc., and aided in feeding the soldiers. When it is considered how many troops passed through the city and how heavy this tax upon their patriotism must have been, too much praise cannot be given to the loyal Philadelphians.

The following was the strength of the Twenty-second in this campaign:\*

	OFFICERS.	NON-COM. OFFICERS.	PRIVATES.	TOTAL.
Field and Staff,	9			9
Non-Com. Staff,		9		9
Co. A,	3	10	54	67
“ B,	3	9	42	54
“ C,	3	8	46	57
“ D,	3	10	53	66
“ E,	3	9	48	60
“ F,	3	8	48	59
“ G,	3	9	66	78
“ H,	3	7	49	59
“ I,	3	8	56	67
Band,			22	22

Aggregate, 607

\*The names of the officers and members who served in the regiment in this campaign are printed in the Appendix at page 623 post.





## CHAPTER V.

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### SERVICE AT BALTIMORE.

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ARRIVING at Baltimore, a change of orders was made. Maryland, as a border State, was more than half inclined towards the Rebel cause, and a large element of the population of Baltimore was in active sympathy with the Confederacy. It was considered necessary to hold the city with a strong force, to keep them under control. So much apprehension was felt that half of each company of the Twenty-second was ordered to load their rifles before marching through the streets. The march, however, was uneventful. A few ladies came to the doors of their houses and waved their handkerchiefs and the American flag. More frowned and looked black. The mass of the people apparently regarded the regiment with apathy.

The Seventh was sent into camp at Druid Hill, and the Eighth, Eleventh, Thirteenth and Thirty-seventh to camps located at other portions of the city. In addition, there were several regiments of volunteers in the city, who had been stationed at Fort Federal Hill and other points for some considerable time. The latter were so thoroughly drilled that they cast the best of the New York National Guard regiments completely



into the shade, and gave them all a much higher standard of drill and discipline than they had ever before possessed, which did them good.

On arriving at Baltimore, the Twenty-second marched to Patterson Park. Maj.-Gen. Dix, the Department Commander, rode over to inspect them, and they at once pitched their tents in front of the earthworks thrown up to defend the city in 1812. The camp was named "Camp Monroe," in honor of its colonel, and here, for the first time, the regiment was brought down to army rules by the following orders:

N. G. S. N. Y.,  
CAMP MONROE, BALTIMORE, May 31, 1862. }

*General Orders No. 9.*

I. The following will be the stated routine of duties for the day until further orders:

Reveille at 5 o'clock A. M.  
Breakfast call at  $5\frac{3}{4}$  o'clock.  
Sick call at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock.  
Guard mounting at  $8\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock A. M.  
Dinner call at 12 M.  
Retreat at sunset.  
Tattoo at 9 o'clock P. M.

Lights will be extinguished at taps, which will sound fifteen minutes after tattoo.

There will be a dress parade of the battalion at retreat each evening, unless it is specially ordered otherwise.

II. Company morning reports will be handed in at the adjutant's office before 8 o'clock. These reports must be kept in book form, and are to be called for by the first sergeants after being consolidated by the sergeant-major.

Guard reports are to be left at the adjutant's office immediately after the guard is mounted.

The surgeon's report will be handed in before 8 o'clock.





Permits to leave the camp must be signed by the commanders of companies, and sent to the commanding officer for approval before the hour of guard mounting. The name of the applicant, and length of time applied for, and statement of the first sergeant of the company that he is not required for duty, must appear on the application.

The companies will police thoroughly their company streets and tents after reveille, at the same time the police party, under the supervision of the officer of the day, will police the general encampment in front, rear and on both flanks. The guard on the prisoners will police the guard-tent at the same hour.

Drill calls will be sounded at  $9\frac{1}{2}$  A. M. and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  P. M. Recalls at 11 A. M. and at 5 P. M.

The officer of the day, during the hour of drill (or a portion of that time), will explain to the guard their duties as such.

All firing in or about the encampment is positively prohibited except with the previous knowledge and consent of the officer of the day.

Guards will be marched to and from their posts, and all reliefs, patrols and rounds, in *quick* time, and, when the files are less than eight, in two ranks doubled by the flank.

Officers are at liberty to go anywhere within a mile of the centre of the camp; the rest of the command (servants are not here referred to) will apply for the permission of an officer before passing beyond the lines of the roads, in rear and in the flanks and the raised causeway lying directly along the front of the camp; one officer from each company must superintend the roll-calls at reveille, retreat and tattoo. First sergeants will report to the captain absentees from breakfast and dinner roll-call. The company details for guard must be inspected by an officer on the first call for guard mounting. Retreat roll-call will be under arms whether the battalion parades or not. There will be a regular inspection by company in the company parade ground each Sunday morning at 9 o'clock.

By order of

COL. JAMES MONROE,  
J. HENDERSON GRANT, *Adjutant*.



N. G. S. N. Y.,  
CAMP MONROE, June 7, 1862. }

*General Orders No. 10.*

One of the company officers will inspect the company messing every day before 12 o'clock. The officer of the day will report the state of the police of the camp and missing on his guard report.

Immediately after reveille the whole of each company, under its officers, are to sweep out the space occupied by it, from the rear of the company officers' tents to a line twenty paces beyond the regimental parade.

The guard of the previous day, under the officer of the guard of that day, will report at guard mounting every morning to the new officer of the day a party for general police. They are to complete the space of the encampment that is left by the company policing—that is, the rear and both flanks.

If any company space is found by the officer of the day to be out of police, he will require the neglect to be remedied at once and will state the fact on his guard report.

By order of

COL. JAMES MONROE,  
J. HENDERSON GRANT, *Adjutant.*

Under systematic daily instruction and the emulation excited by the example of the other regiments, the Twenty-second here began its transformation into a well-drilled and disciplined regiment, which is a very different thing from a voluntary organization of young men having a smattering of military knowledge.

On the first day of the camp some men endeavored to pass the guard, and when stopped, one seized the sentry's rifle and knocked him down with it. The whole guard turned out, but for some unknown reason, probably because of the inexperience of the non-commis-



sioned officers of the guard, the rifles were not loaded and the intruders escaped, after making a great deal of excitement. It was a wholesome experience, and taught the officers and men that Baltimore was not New York, and that guard duty must be performed strictly according to the regulations. After this the sentries loaded their rifles at nightfall and were wary about allowing anyone to come near them, either by day or night. They were tested frequently by the officers, who tried by all kinds of devices to get their guns from them, but without success. One of the officers who stole softly upon a sentry was disagreeably surprised to have him suddenly turn and execute "butt to the front," which took the officer in the chest and knocked him ten feet. Of course, the sentry did not know (?) it was an officer and was perfectly justified.

On the third day after their arrival, a detachment of detained men and recruits, sixty strong, under the command of Lieut. H. C. Oakley, C Company, joined the regiment, increasing its number to over 600. The regiment was furnished with "A" tents, but as the supply of these was inadequate, they were very crowded. Six men occupied each tent, five lying crosswise and one lengthwise, filling the entire space, the tallest man being put lengthwise. The outside man was on the extreme edge and, therefore, usually got more or less wet when it rained. The secessionist feeling existing in Baltimore at this time may be judged from the fact that ten men in each company were required to constantly keep their rifles loaded. Only seven passes a day were allowed to each company and only these for the periods between 11 A. M. and 3:30 P. M., except in special cases.



The commissary department of the regiment did not work well for the first week (as is almost always the case with new troops), supper being only boiled rice and coffee without milk or sugar. The men, however, supplied themselves with extra provisions at their own expense, particularly strawberries, which were plentiful and cheap. Colonel Monroe, however, took hold of the matter, appointed a new commissary, and the men began to get the regular army ration, which they soon preferred to the pickled salmon and similar stuff that they had been purchasing. Almost every tent, however, had a box sunk in the floor, forming its "cellar," where a store of eatables and drinkables was kept.

The weather, during the stay in Baltimore, was very rainy. Besides the discomfort of getting wet, which the men bore very well, it was simply impossible to keep the guns and accoutrements in proper condition, unless they were cleaned twice a day; often a gun carefully cleaned and set aside, as ready for inspection, would be found coated with rust in the morning. On June 10, 1862, the gray dress coat and trousers were discarded, and the men were all inspected by the surgeon to see if they had been properly vaccinated.

June 30, 1862, should be a day to be remembered in the annals of the Twenty-second, for that was the first occasion on which its members fired their rifles with ball cartridges. In fact, it was the first time that most of them had ever fired a rifle at all. The practice consisted of each man's firing two shots off-hand at about 100 yards, at the head of a barrel. There was no instruction in position or aiming, and the practice was wretched. Many men missed the mark by fully ten





feet. Of course their errors were not corrected, for no one knew how to correct. Such a thing as teaching a man even the use of the sights on his rifle was then unheard of.

Upon another occasion one company was drawn up in line to fire a volley at the same distance. The barrel-head which formed the target was placed on the edge of a railroad embankment. Just as the order was given to "*fire*," a startled cow trotted out of some bushes to the left, so that she was directly over the target as the volley was delivered. All looked to see the cow converted into a colander. But they over-estimated the marksmanship of the Twenty-second. The bullets cast up the dust under the cow, and for twenty feet on each side of her, but none of them hit her. On the contrary, she elevated her tail and departed in haste, but unscathed.

If the officers, through inexperience, were not as well qualified as they should have been to instruct their men, they spared no pains to learn. They studied the tactics and regulations industriously, and availed themselves instantly of every suggestion which came from Col. Monroe, so that their improvement was astonishing. In one particular they were never open to criticism, and that was in the care of their men. They looked after their welfare in every way, and if one of the men of a company was ill, his officers would get up two or three times in the course of the night to see how he was getting along. Among all of them, there was none more kind-hearted or thoughtful than Capt. (afterwards Major) James Otis, who, though a strict disciplinarian, looked after his men as a mother would after her babies,



and was in turn regarded by them with the utmost respect and affection.

Shortly after the arrival of the regiment, each member was presented by the Sanitary Commission with a "Havelock." This was a white cotton cap cover, with a flap which hung down in rear and at the sides, so as to keep off the sun from the neck and back of the head of its wearer. It originated with the British troops in India, and was much valued by the men of the Twenty-second at first, as they were terribly burned. When, however, they had become thoroughly bronzed by the sun and weather, the Havelock fell into disuse, except as a material to clean a rifle. In fact, many of the men at Harper's Ferry habitually went around the camp in the blazing sun, intensified as it was by the reflection from the white tents and the trodden ground, with a little fez cap set on the back of their heads, and experienced no inconvenience. Each man was also presented by the chaplain with a pocket testament and hymn-book, printed expressly for soldiers by the New York Bible Society. The good order in which most of these books were found when brought home was an indication of the great esteem in which they were held, or that they had not been very greatly used.

The dress parades of the Twenty-second Regiment were well attended. The ceremony was performed in a first-class manner, and the music was good—Helmsmuller making the air re-echo with the stirring strains of the "Twenty-second Regiment Regimental March," as the troop "beat off" and passed up and down the long line of motionless gray and red uniforms. The spectacle attracted many from all parts of the city. Not



all were friendly, for on one occasion a spectator called for "three cheers for the C. S. A.," an exclamation which resulted in his being promptly knocked down by the nearest Union man, the interposition of the guard being necessary to prevent a general fight. The regiment also marched twice to the residence of the department commander and serenaded him, an honor which was not particularly appreciated by the rank and file, who had been drilling all day, and found the long march and "standing around" on cobble-stones in the dark to be extremely fatiguing.

Opposite to and a short distance from the camp of the Twenty-second was situated Fort Marshall, which was garrisoned by the Fifth Heavy Artillery. The sentry lines of the Twenty-second extended about 200 yards from its own camp, and its men had the liberty of the enclosed space, but were forbidden to pass beyond it. The members of the Fifth found it most interesting to run this guard line. Every little while one or two of them would cross over from their own ground and pass the line. The nearest sentry would yell, "Halt—Corporal of the Guard, Post No. 4," 5 or 6, as the case may be, which is all he could do, as the rifles were not loaded in the day time, except a few at the guard tent. The cry would pass from sentry to sentry. Down would come the corporal, see several men dressed in fatigue uniform, like that of his own regiment, taking to their heels across the fields; whereupon he would set up a yell of "Sar-gent of the guard and three files." The sergeant and six of the guard would come down at the "double," and start after the fugitives. After a smart run, they would gain upon them, and, by a threat to shoot,



bring them to a halt, only to find that they belonged to the Fifth, and had only passed across the guard line of the Twenty-second, too trivial an offence to speak of, particularly when they asserted it was done in ignorance. Whereupon the sergeant, corporal and six privates would wipe the perspiration off their brows, use considerable language, and return slowly to their posts, to get their breath for another race.

It was, however, an open secret among the privates, at least, that if a member of the Twenty-second really needed to get outside the guard, he was usually able to accomplish it without exciting any publicity, provided he managed to get back before his absence was detected by his officers.

Occasionally the men were permitted to form parties to go to the Potapscot to bathe, an indulgence which was greatly appreciated, and was very beneficial to their health.

The regiment spent twenty days in Baltimore, which was mainly impressed upon the minds of the younger members by the unmerciful snubbing which they received from the ladies, who were Secessionists to the core. If a young Union soldier, swelling with pride, and conscious at every nerve of his neat appearance in uniform, met two ladies walking down a street, they would ostentatiously pull their skirts aside, while one would go up a stoop and the other into the street, as if they thought he had the smallpox. This was not agreeable, but it was fully as pleasant as it was for him to sit in a horse-car, with several ladies standing, and three feet of space on each side which none of them would condescend to occupy. The Union people of Baltimore,





however, went to the other extreme, and there was nothing they would not do for one who wore a Union uniform. But these were in the decided minority.

On June 1, 1861, the New York troops learned, with regret, that Maj.-Gen. Dix had ceased to be the department commander, but were gratified by the official recognition of their services contained in the following order:

HEADQUARTERS MIDDLE DEPARTMENT,  
BALTIMORE, MD., June 1, 1862. }

*General Orders No. 14.*

EXTRACT.

The major-general commanding, having received orders to repair to Fort Monroe and assume the command at that point, and having but two hours to prepare for his departure, takes leave of the troops under his command in the mode left to him through the medium of a general order.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is a source of deep regret to him that he is compelled to leave without being able to review the regiments of New York militia—the Seventh, Eighth, Thirteenth, Twenty-second, Thirty-seventh and Forty-seventh—which, under a second appeal from the chief magistrate of the Union, have laid aside their various occupations, on the briefest notice, at great personal sacrifice, and, hurrying to the field, are now occupying positions in and around Baltimore. In their patriotism and devotion to the Government of their country, the Union feeling of the city will meet with a cordial sympathy. It is a great alleviation of the regret with which the major-general commanding parts with them that he is soon to be succeeded by a distinguished general officer of the regular army from their own State. In the interim the command of the department devolves on Brig.-Gen. Montgomery, U. S. Vols.

\* \* \* \* \*



The major-general commanding, with his imperfect acknowledgment of his obligations to the loyal citizens of Baltimore and their patriotic defenders, tenders to them all, with his best wishes, a friendly and cordial farewell.

By order of

(sd.) MAJ.-GEN. DIX,  
D. T. VAN BUREN,

*Colonel and Aide-de-Camp.*

On June 18, 1862, while in camp in Baltimore, the Twenty-second was mustered into the United States service for three months, all taking the oath but one officer and one drummer, who were prevented by urgent reasons from being absent from their homes for so long a period.

Although not in the immediate presence of the enemy, the Twenty-second was kept constantly reminded, during its stay in Baltimore, of the struggle that was progressing.

Steamer loads of wounded and sick from the swamps of the Chickahominy were being daily landed at the wharves of the city, and conveyed from thence to the various hospitals. Squads of the regiment were frequently detailed to assist in moving these sufferers, as well as for burial parties for the men who died in the hospitals.

It was a sorrowful sight, particularly for those unused to war, to see the gaunt, fever-worn men as they were carried off the steamers. It seemed as if the big, stalwart men from the rural districts, and particularly from the Maine woods, suffered more from the bad water and food and the exposure incident to service in the Chickahominy swamps than the men from the cities,



who, although not possessing their physique, had been accustomed to a more irregular life. Many great-framed countrymen, who had weighed over 200 pounds when they left their homes, were reduced to the weight of a boy, and were so emaciated that they had to be carried from the steamers in blankets. The sights at the hospitals were frequently more disagreeable than at the boats. The men of the Twenty-second had not become accustomed to death. They also regarded a soldier who had laid down his life for his country as particularly entitled to respect. It was the custom, in case of each death of a soldier at a hospital, to have a brief service read over the body before the burial escort took it to the cemetery. The amount paid to the officiating clergyman was probably small. But this could constitute no excuse for the manner in which some of them performed this duty, rushing in at the last minute, and rattling through the service without the least attempt at solemnity or apparent interest, to the supreme and intense disgust of the funeral party, at least of such as were detailed from the Twenty-second. These, on the other hand, sought to make up for this unclerical conduct by the most scrupulous adherence to all the military formalities of the funeral ceremonies; and, as was a common saying, "as far as we were concerned, we planted the poor devil in style."



## CHAPTER VI.

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### ORDERED TO HARPER'S FERRY.

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AT this time things again went wrong in the Shenandoah Valley and reinforcements were demanded to defend Harper's Ferry, an important post situated at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac. Maj.-Gen. Wool, who had succeeded Gen. Dix as department commander, having been called upon for troops, inquired of Col. Monroe, late in the evening of June 19, how soon the Twenty-second would be ready to move if ordered. He replied, "At once," and at midnight he received orders for the regiment to leave the next morning at 9:30. Awaking at 4 A. M., on June 20, the Twenty-second packed its knapsacks, boxed its cooking outfit and "struck its tents." It did this with mingled joy and sorrow. Joy, at the compliment of being selected for service at the front, and sorrow to think of the well-stocked cellars in its tents, the contents of which it was compelled to leave behind. Its sorrow in this respect was, however, more than made up by the delight manifested by its numerous negro camp followers, who at once swooped down upon the camp and promptly appropriated the hitherto to them unknown luxuries which were abandoned by their owners. Sardines,





cheese, pickles and whiskey vanished under their eyes—but the recollection is too painful to be dwelt upon. The worst of it was that the regiment knew perfectly well that it was going to a place where what it then left behind could not be replaced. The orders were to take the train at 10 A. M. So well had the Twenty-second been brought under discipline that it had packed everything, cooked its rations and started so promptly that the rear of the column entered the depot at two minutes of ten o'clock.

The journey from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry was extremely disagreeable. The men were transported in ordinary passenger cars, which they regarded at first as a decided improvement over the cattle cars in which they had gone from New York to Baltimore. Experience, however, soon convinced them of their error. Two men in heavy marching order, with knapsacks, haversacks, with two days' rations, canteens, rifles and sword-bayonets leave but little space in a seat of the ordinary passenger coach, and its occupants, after thus sitting a few hours, became cramped. This they must endure as best they can, for there is no opportunity for relief, but it becomes extremely fatiguing. As for sleep, it is almost out of the question.

The road on which the regiment moved was infested with guerrillas, and the train liable to attack at any moment. It therefore crawled along very slowly, the men frequently jumping off the train while it was in motion, picking the berries and wild flowers which grew along the road, and jumping on again. At Sandy Hook, a small station on the road, the train halted for the night—as it was not considered safe for it to proceed except by day-



light—and was guarded by a strong detachment, while the men inside ineffectually sought to secure positions in which they could get some sleep, unaccompanied by cramps. Though the distance from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry is not great, twenty-four hours were passed in covering it, during which the discomforts of the men



*Burned Arsenal. Harper's Ferry.*

were intense. After this no complaints were ever made by them against traveling in cattle or baggage cars. All along the route burnt bridges, ruined houses and cars thrown off the track and half submerged in the river, indicated the recent presence of the enemy.

The regiment arrived at Harper's Ferry at 7 P. M. and found it a most picturesque place. It is a little village situated in the sloping triangle formed by the junction of the Shenandoah and the Potomac. Both these rivers having a considerable fall at this point, they have been dammed and furnish a fine water-power which was used by the Government gun factory. This had been burned at the outbreak of the war to prevent the gun-making machines from being sent to Richmond. This was not done too soon, for some of the boxes were still there with the address of "Richmond" on them when the Twenty-second arrived. Many muskets had also been destroyed and thrown into the Shenandoah River at the time the arsenal was burned, so that oc-



casionally the members of the regiment, while bathing, would bring up muskets with their barrels bent and broken, from the bottom of the river.



Here was the celebrated engine-house where John Brown made his famous stand for life and liberty. A very poor selection he made of it, too, as it was

hemmed in on all sides and entirely indefensible.

The bridge leading into Harper's Ferry had been destroyed by the Confederates just before they vacated the place, and a temporary one had been subsequently constructed by the Union men, over which the train went very slowly, for it was quite rickety, and entered upon the "sacred soil" of Virginia.

Extending from the town up the valley was a steep hill, the top forming a plateau, known as Bolivar Heights. This had an old line of rifle-pits across it, and extended with a long slope down the valley—ground which was to become familiar to the regiment in many a march and skirmish drill. Beyond this lay the broad sweep of the Shenandoah valley, a beautiful farming country, but abandoned; the people gone, the houses empty, and the great fields covered with wheat un-gathered and rotting on the stalk. The possession of these crops was the cause of many of the raids up the valley, which were made by the Confederates, and finally led to their destruction by Gen. Sheridan later in the war. All the horses and cattle were also gone, either driven South or taken by one army or the other.



On the Virginia side, the high range known as Loudon Heights extended along the Shenandoah, and on the Maryland side, the mountain known as Maryland Heights, some 1500 feet high, and somewhat resembling the Dunderberg at Peekskill, overtopped all the surrounding hills. Upon its side, seven hundred feet above the river, was a battery of heavy navy guns placed upon a broad platform like a ship-deck. This was the key of the position.

Arriving at Harper's Ferry, where it became a part of the Eighth Corps, Middle Department, Maj.-Gen. John E. Wool commanding, the regiment marched through the war-worn and dilapidated town, thence up a steep and winding road, passed the scattered and deserted houses on the outskirts, and beyond the earth works on Bolivar Heights, from which Ashby had retreated a short time before. On its way it passed a number of splashed and hard-looking cavalry returning from scouting parties down the valley, their air and appearance showing that they were engaged in actual war.

Finally, the regiment reached a plateau three miles beyond the Heights, near the ground occupied by the Twelfth N. Y. N. G. the previous year, where it encamped. All around the ground was marked with old rifle-pits and the marks of previous camps. So numerous were the latter that, a squad sent out to replace some missing tent-pegs picked up twenty-five in less than fifteen minutes. The troops were young, green and nervous. The natural result was that during the first night the guard around the camp kept themselves busy halting imaginary objects and calling for the corporal of the guard, as if the





enemy was actually attacking the camp. The following order was issued prescribing the camp routine :

CAMP ASPINWALL,  
NEAR HARPER'S FERRY,

June 22, 1862.

*General Orders No 16.*

I. The following order of daily duties will be observed until further orders:

Reveille,	at 5 o'clock A. M.
Breakfast call,	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " A. M.
Sick call,	7 " A. M.
Guard mounting,	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " A. M.
Dinner call,	12 " Noon.
Retreat at sunset.	
Tattoo,	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " P. M.

Lights to be extinguished at taps, fifteen minutes after tattoo.

There will be a dress parade every evening at retreat unless otherwise ordered.

Drill calls will be sounded at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  A. M. and 5 P. M.

Recalls at 9 A. M. and 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  P. M.

II. Company morning reports will be handed in at the adjutant's office before 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock.

The surgeon's report will be handed in before 8 o'clock.

Passes to leave camp must be signed by captains of companies, bear the first sergeant's signature that the bearer is not required for duty, and be countersigned at headquarters.

The companies will police thoroughly their company streets and tents after reveille, at the same time the police party, under the supervision of the officer of the day, will police the general encampment in front, rear and on both the flanks. The guard or the prisoners will police the guard-tent at the same hour.

III. All firing is positively prohibited, except with consent of the officer of the day.



Officers passing beyond the jurisdiction of the camp (one mile from centre thereof) will make known their intentions at headquarters.

IV. A commissioned officer from each company will superintend the roll-calls at reveille, retreat and tattoo. First sergeants will report to their captains after breakfast and dinner roll-calls.

Captains will report to the officers of the day absentees from roll-call at reveille and tattoo. A careful inspection of arms will be made at retreat roll-call. There will be a regular inspection by company on the company parade-ground each Sunday at 9 A. M., unless otherwise ordered.

V. Proper sinks having been provided, they alone must be used for the purpose for which they are constructed.

VI. All venders, of whatsoever articles, are strictly prohibited within the limits of the camp.

VII. Private Davidson is transferred from Company C to Company I.

Privates William Adams, John T. Campion, Charles E. DeLancy, Samuel McCallum, Wm. H. Rossell, James W. Searls, William Schofield and John Winterbottom are transferred from Company H to Company I, as of June 18.

VIII. All persons having passes must go and return by the guard tent.

IX. No intoxicating liquors will be admitted within the lines except by permission from the officer of the day.

X. Corporals Tappin of Company A,

"	White	"	E,
"	Young	"	G,
"	Perkins	"	G,
"	Pigeon	"	B,
"	Howell	"	F,
"	Geer	"	D,

are detailed as color guard with rank of first corporal from this date.

By order of

LIEUT.-COL. ASPINWALL,  
J. H. GRANT, *Adjutant.*



At 3. A. M. on the second morning after their arrival, the members of the regiment were startled from slumber in the gray of the morning by "the long roll." They sprang to arms in great excitement, the companies were hastily assembled and the regimental line formed. It was not light enough to see but a short distance, so patrols were sent out in different directions to ascertain what was the cause of the alarm, while the air was full of rumors. After some time it was found that Col. Mulligan, commanding an Ohio regiment, had received orders to march early that morning, and had taken the opportunity to turn his men out by beating "the long roll." As the men of the Twenty-second were up and the regiment formed, Col. Aspinwall, who was in temporary command, Col. Monroe being detained in Baltimore by sickness, thought he would take advantage of the occasion by giving the command a little instruction, and proceeded to have a smart battalion-drill of an hour and a half. The men had had nothing to eat, they had dressed in such haste that their clothing was not comfortably adjusted (shoes upon the wrong feet, etc.), the morning was stifling hot and they soon became tired, faint and cross, so that the effect of this drill was to create in the regiment a feeling against Col. Aspinwall that it took months to dissipate.

The alarm directed Col. Miles's attention to the exposed position of the regiment and the next day, June 23, they were ordered to take a position nearer the other troops. They accordingly broke camp in a heavy rain and moved up to the top of the hill near the town. As their tents were not moved with them, the men were quartered for a day in empty houses. Of these there



were plenty—so many, in fact, that two were torn down and ten gutted for wood for the regimental camp-fires of the Twenty-second during their stay. The doors of many were carried to camp and used to sleep on. The regiment then pitched a new camp, known as "Camp Aspinwall," on the slope of the hill known as "Camp Hill," inside of Bolivar Heights, upon which heights they remained during the rest of their enlistment.



Many of the sick and wounded from Bank's division were still in the hospitals in the town. Many other wounded and sick were constantly being brought in from Winchester, Front Royal and other points, and their wan faces and haggard appearance were a touching sight to new troops.

Harper's Ferry, as well as the surrounding country, was kept under strict martial law during the stay of the Twenty-second. No one was permitted to be out after dark, and no soldier at any time, without a pass, which had to be shown to all guards and pickets. All lights were required to be extinguished at 9 P. M., and special passes were required from all desiring to pass the





pickets. These were stationed upon every road about three miles out. The cavalry pickets extended two miles further, and cavalry patrols were constantly scouting up and down the roads and through the country. The roads were often filled with columns of cavalry, long trains of army wagons, with the guards protecting them, and great droves of cattle all going to Winchester. Then again they would be deserted except for the pickets marching in and out, and the ever-present squads of cavalry. White civilian travel was conspicuous by its absence. It was always stopped and required to give a satisfactory account of itself and show its pass. Yet it was a decided relief to the members of the Twenty-second to feel that they were in a place where the foe was an open one, and to be free from the constant suspicion of secret treachery, which was ever present at Baltimore.

On June 25, in pursuance of orders from the War Department, all officers and men on furlough were ordered to report for duty immediately or be considered as deserters. A further general order was issued by the War Department, dated June 12, 1862, forbidding the issue of furloughs by captains or colonels upon any pretext whatever.





## CHAPTER VII.

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### HARPER'S FERRY.

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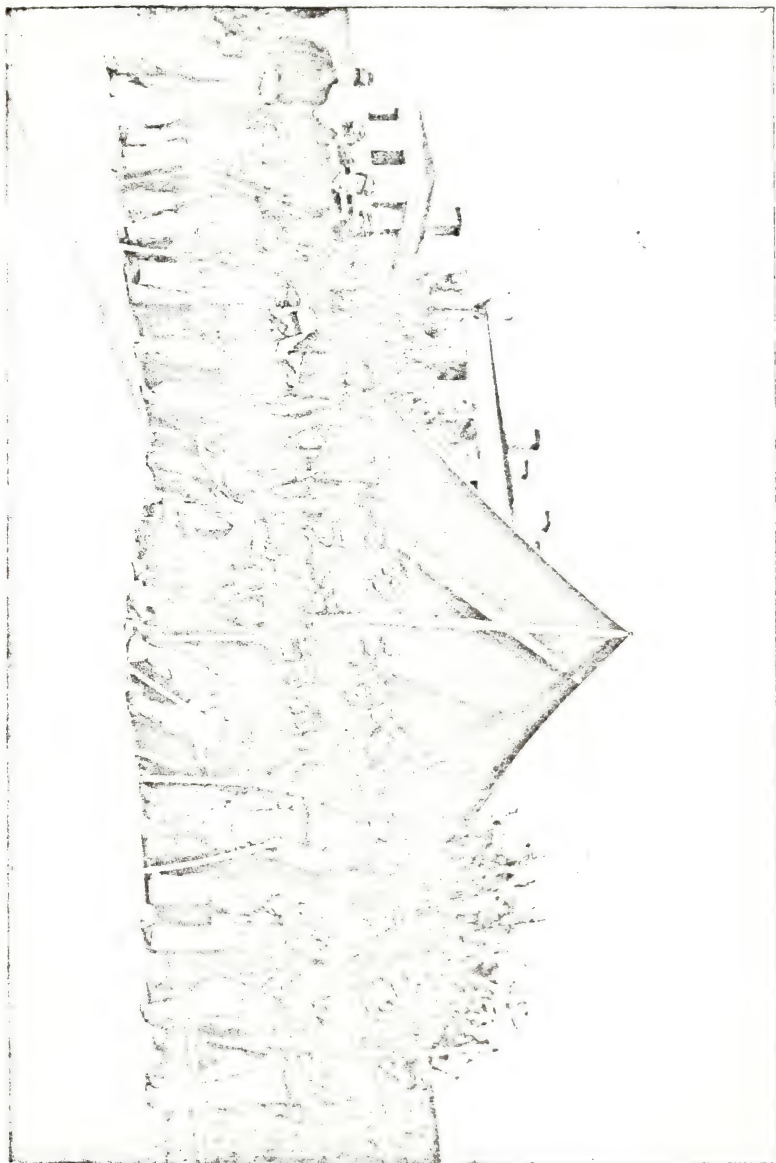
THE regiment now settled down to steady, systematic work under army regulations which soon added whatever it might have lacked to convert it into a well-disciplined organization. It was brigaded with the Twelfth N. G. (800 strong), Eighty-seventh Ohio (1200) and two troops of the Second Maryland Cavalry (150). Besides these there were in the fortifications two companies of the Jackson Light Artillery, and two companies of the Fifth New York Heavy Artillery and some infantry were on Maryland Heights.

The Twenty-second was drilled daily for about six hours. Company drill in the morning and in the afternoon battalion drill on three days in the week, and brigade drill on the other three. The company and battalion drills were sometimes in the field in rear of the camp, but more often beyond Bolivar Heights, where there was plenty of room, but where the rough and broken ground made it hard work. Here, also, the brigade drills were had. Under this steady, systematic instruction of every man, the Twenty-second attained a proficiency in drill which the regiment has probably never since equalled. Its manual of arms was perfection and there was no movement in the tactics



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THE 1ST ALBANY AND ORISKANY REGIMENT IN CAMP AT BURLINGTON.





which it could not perform like a machine. The march to and from the drill-ground was long and dusty, and what "dusty" means can only be appreciated by those who have served a summer's campaign in Virginia. The dust lay three inches deep in the roads, and when the regiment marched out it was often impossible to see the length of a company or to tell whether the column consisted of six hundred men or six hundred cattle. To those in the ranks, the dust was almost stifling. The companies often "opened out" the fours so as to create as little dust as possible, but this afforded only trifling relief.

The brigade made a tremendous line, and every change of front involved a march of more than a quarter of a mile for the organizations that were upon the flanks. Three or four hours of brigade drill, under a broiling sun, marching over hollows and humps, gulleys and old rifle-pits, often at "double quick," taxed the energies of the men to the utmost, and it was common at first for many to drop from exhaustion. In time, however, they became tough as veterans.

In these drills the men were supplied with blank cartridges and drilled in firing with them. While this was going on, the cavalry would ride up and down the line to accustom the horses to the smoke and noise. To vary the monotony of the drill, many of the Twenty-second, after pouring the powder from the cartridges into the rifles, adopted the practice of twisting the paper into a hard wad and of ramming it well on top of the powder. By giving the gun a high elevation, this wad could be shot far enough to reach the passing cavalry. When it struck a horse the result was usually indicated by his standing on his hind legs. The cavalry men, who





appeared to be deficient in humor, did not appreciate this little joke, and its continuance caused considerable feeling between them and the infantry. The result of this was that, one day as the cavalry was galloping down the line from the right, and the front of the brigade was enveloped in smoke, the order was given to the former, "Right wheel. Charge." They pretended to misunderstand it for a "left wheel," and charged directly into the brigade line, striking the centre of the Twenty-second. The charge was made so quickly, and the smoke was so dense, that the first thing the infantry knew, the cavalry was right upon them. The troopers struck at the infantry men with the flat of their sabres, and tried to force their horses through their line, while the infantry clubbed their muskets and struck the horses over their noses, and some began to fix bayonets. Matters began to look very ugly and there was every indication of a fracas, when Col. Miles, the brigade commander, and Col. Aspinwall, came galloping down the line and stopped it, with the use of considerable language. This little episode led to the disuse of wad-firing.

Col. Monroe was not an advocate of firing with blank cartridges, believing that it led to random firing. He practiced the companies quite frequently in target shooting, although the method pursued and the results obtained would be laughed at at the present day. The "old guard" every day discharged their loaded rifles at rocks in the Shenandoah (a distance estimated at about 400 yards), and after July 23, firing was had, on alternate days, at 200 yards at a target placed upon a board fence, each man having three shots. All the firing was



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VIEW OF TOWN OF HARRIS TERRY, VA. 1872





"off hand," and there was no instruction, for in those days no one knew how to instruct. Aiming or position drill was unheard of. The men learned how to load and fire their rifles and that was all.

In addition to the beautiful scenery which surrounds Harper's Ferry, it possesses considerable facilities as a watering-place. The Shenandoah and Potomac are dammed a mile or two above the town, and the water from the former is conducted into a large canal alongside of the river, which forms a most admirable bathing-place. The weather was intensely hot during the summer (often over 100° in the tents). The bathing was a great luxury, and was indulged in to such an extent that before July was over almost every man in the Twenty-second was an expert swimmer.

This canal presented a singular sight upon every fine day after the morning drill, filled as it then was by from one to two thousand naked men, laughing, shouting and swimming races, until the water presented the same confusion that appears upon the ice in Central Park when the skating is at its height. Some kind of fun and practical joking was always going on among the soldiers, for it must be remembered that all the regiments were mostly composed of young men of from eighteen to twenty-two (whom they would now look upon as boys), boiling over with fun and animal spirits, and ready to take a hand in anything that might happen, without regard to the consequences. Yet they rarely passed beyond the proper bounds. A striking example of this was afforded upon one occasion when a young woman, nicely dressed, passed along the tow-path between the canal and the river, while the men



were bathing. It was a great ordeal for her, but there was no other way and no escape, and to turn back was as bad as to keep on. So she held herself erect, averted her head, and walked along half a mile of naked soldiers, alone. But no man insulted her, or, in fact, said anything to her, and it would have gone hard with anyone if he had attempted to do so. Anyone who has seen European armies, and knows what the men belonging to them would have done under such circumstances, can appreciate this conduct.

Among the many queer experiences of this period is one that happened to the writer. One day there was a diving race, and at the word he and several others dived and swam under water, to see which could get the furthest. Just as the writer's breath was about exhausted, he perceived another man, also swimming under water, coming towards him. Both rose to the surface to avoid a collision. Greatly to the writer's surprise, the man was an old schoolmate whom he had not seen for ten years. The recognition was mutual, and they shook hands, as well as can be done by men who have at the same time to swim with the other. "Why, Lewis," said the writer, "what are you doing here?"

"I am in camp with the ————," was the answer.

But just then they were swept apart by a tumultuous rush of swimmers, and the rest of the answer was not heard. Moreover, as one naked man looks very much like another, they could not find each other again, and although the writer often looked and inquired for his friend, he has never seen him from that day to this. Moreover, as this was thirty-three years ago, he has given up the idea of ever doing so. It was, however,





quite an unusual experience to meet an old schoolmate four feet under water.

Some distance up the valley the Shenandoah runs through a narrow space with great rapidity. This was a favorite place for the swimmers of the pickets and those who could get passes. These, when not on duty, spent the hot afternoons bathing, going down with the current through the rapids and then running back through the fields to the starting-point, the sensation in going down the swift current being not unlike sliding down a toboggan.

The hot weather, hard work, and particularly the change of water, had, at first, a prejudicial effect upon the health of the regiment. The spring water was so impregnated with lime that it looked like milk, and acted like a cathartic. Diarrhœa became so universal that at one time, in the first week of July, all drills had to be stopped for a week, and there were not enough men fit for duty in the regiment to supply the camp guard. Many became seriously sick, and had to be sent home.

Several orders were issued upon the subject. The men were restricted to one cup of coffee at a meal. Indulgence in fruits was strictly prohibited. An ounce of whiskey was issued daily to each man, which was put in the water in his canteen, and he was prohibited from using any other water. Vendors having passes were allowed to enter camp to sell fresh milk, butter, eggs and vegetables. Officers were required to inspect the company messing, to take great care to see that the food was properly prepared, and to furnish each man a small cup of coffee immediately after reveille. The men were



only allowed to bathe twice a week, and to stay in the water for not more than fifteen minutes at a time.

These regulations were enforced, and after a time the men became accustomed to the water and mode of living, and hardened by the incessant drills, so that they, thereafter, experienced no serious trouble.

July 4, 1863, was celebrated by the Twenty-second in the old-fashioned manner. There were speeches by the officers, the raising of a flag-pole in camp, and a series of athletic games—running, jumping and a glove fight, Col. Aspinwall being the best jumper, and the writer being declared to be the winner of the glove fight, and entitled to some certificate, which he never received. That night the batteries on Maryland Heights opened upon some scouting parties of the Confederates on Loudon Heights, across the Shenandoah. These reciprocated on July 6, by firing on the regimental pickets. On July 17, the seriousness of the situation induced Col. Monroe to order that the cartridge-boxes should be filled at retreat, and all expended ammunition replaced at the same time every day. There were several court-martials held at this time, all for minor offences, such as out-staying a pass, etc. There was one case of a sentry who, with an obstinate adherence to what he considered to be his duty, refused to change his post when ordered to do so by the officer of the guard and the officer of the day. For this he was sentenced to fourteen days in the guard tent. Col. Monroe remitted the sentence, in view of the confinement that the culprit had suffered; but, in his order on the subject, stated the duties of sentries so clearly that it is quoted here, the matter being one upon which there



is frequently considerable doubt in the minds of many soldiers. He said :

“ The colonel commanding takes the occasion of the publication of the foregoing proceedings to rectify some misapprehensions in respect to the responsibility and duties of sentinels. It is a mistake to suppose that a sentinel can be relieved only by a non-commissioned officer of his guard. It is the right, and sometimes the duty, of the officer of the day to inspect the piece and cartridge-box of a sentinel on post, to satisfy himself that the one is loaded and that the other contains the requisite ammunition. The officer of the day, when properly made known to the sentinel, may order him off his post, put him on another post, or give him any proper military order. The responsibility is with the officer. The sentinel is safe in following his directions.”

An inspection of the brigade was made by Maj.-Gen. Wool, the department commander, on July 22, by whose direction the brigade commander issued an order conveying to the Twenty-second Gen. Wool's “ great gratification at its soldierly appearance and proficiency in drill and discipline,” and stating his intention of “ returning and witnessing its drill in the evolutions of the line.”

The brigade was commanded by Col. Dixon S. Miles, Second Infantry U. S. A., an old regular officer. He had fallen under a cloud on account of something he did or omitted in the first battle of Bull Run and had been put in charge of Harper's Ferry. He was a splendid drill officer, with a peculiarly penetrating voice that would carry the entire length of the line of 2500 men, and he handled his brigade beautifully. There was something wrong in his composition, however, and it was generally understood that he was a victim of the absinthe habit.



He was rough, overbearing and disagreeable. It was stated that he replied to an application for leave to return home, made by one of the members of G Company, who was very sick with heart disease and liable to die at any moment, "that none of the Twenty-second Regiment should return home until their time had expired, unless they went home in a box." He had a great respect for Col. Monroe, as an ex-officer in the regular army, and if the latter had lived, Harper's Ferry would probably not have surrendered. Unfortunately Col. Monroe was taken with typhoid fever and died on July 31, 1862. He was adored by the men, who had the greatest confidence in him, which he fully deserved.

Probably no event in the history of the Twenty-second ever excited such sorrow and consternation in its ranks as did his death. The regiment was momentarily expecting an attack by the Confederate forces, which all knew would be a desperate conflict, and it relied with confidence upon the leadership of Col. Monroe. His care of and thoughtfulness for his men had also made them regard him with affection. For days after his death the camp was silent and gloomy. Every mark of respect was given to Col. Monroe's memory. The officers of the Twenty-second met and passed appropriate resolutions. The entire brigade escorted his remains to the cars, the march being made through six inches of fine dust, which rendered it impossible to see from one platoon to the next. A special detachment, consisting of Cpts. Otis, Post and Wilsey, First Lieuts. Bellows, Edwards, Oakley and Hoyt, Second Lieuts. Landers, Smyth and Remmy, and a detail of two privates from each com-





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THE "HAPPY FAMILY."

E. C. Homans. P. W. Van Brunt. W. A. Brewer. Jas. S. Robbins.  
Abm. Schenck. G. B. Goldschmidt.



CAMP ASPINWALL, SHENANDOAH HEIGHTS.

Q. M. Chas. T. White. Surgeon Genl. Lee.  
Asst. Surgeon Albert Gallatin. Acting Chaplain E. N. White.

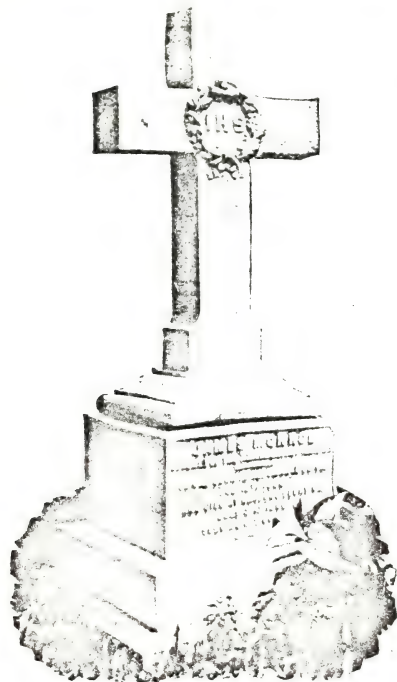


STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

*History of the Twenty-Second Regiment*

79

pany, two sergeants and two corporals, under the command of Lieut. E. A. Landers, escorted his body to New York, the railroads furnishing transportation without charge.



MONROE MONUMENT.

The Seventh, and all the officers stationed in Baltimore, escorted the party through Baltimore, forming a most imposing procession. Col. Monroe's body lay in state for four days in St. Xavier's Church, New York, and was then buried, with military honors, in Holy Cross Cemetery. A handsome and expensive monument was subsequently erected over his grave by the regiment, which is kept in good order and strewed with flowers on every Decoration Day by the mem-

bers of James Monroe Post G. A. R.\*

While Col. Lloyd Aspinwall, who succeeded Col. Monroe, had, on account of the latter's illness, almost the entire charge of the drilling of the regiment since its arrival at Harper's Ferry, he had practically no previous military experience, although he had once belonged to a militia artillery regiment. As is not uncommon with officers who have never seen actual field

\* The Twenty-second also raised \$2000 for Col. Monroe's family.



service or carried a musket in the ranks, he had to learn, by experience, what his men could undergo without suffering, and, until he did learn, was often, from ignorance, inconsiderate of their comfort. The men complained of the severe drills in the hot weather, and, in particular, of being kept at a "shoulder arms" while the long brigade was closing and deploying, and of other matters having less foundation. They had little or no confidence in him as a leader, as compared with Col. Monroe, and felt the change of command deeply. Greatly to their surprise and pleasure, he proved a good colonel. He dropped the long-continued "shoulder arms" and some of the other peculiarities they complained of, and showed himself a first-class drill officer. In a short time he won the respect and confidence of his command, although it was not until the succeeding campaign that he attained the popularity of his lamented predecessor.\*

The Twenty-second at this time completely abandoned their gray full-dress coats and sent them to New

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\* Gen. Lloyd Aspinwall died in Bristol, R. I., on September 4, 1886, at the age of 56. He was born in New York, and was the son of William H. Aspinwall, of the firm of Howland & Aspinwall, one of the oldest shipping houses in America. In his youth he entered his father's office, succeeded him as a member of the firm, and was at the head of it at the time of his death.

Gen. Aspinwall, in 1854, enlisted as a private in Capt. Hincken's Battery, Fourth Artillery, N. G., Col. Yates commanding. In 1855 Col. Yates became a brigade commander, and, Col. Hincken taking command of the regiment, appointed Mr. Aspinwall quartermaster. In 1857 the latter was elected major of the Seventh Regiment, but declined the position. He originated the formation of the Union Grays in 1861. He held the position of colonel of the Twenty-second until December 1, 1865, when he was commissioned brigadier-general of the Fourth Brigade, N. G. He commanded the First Division of the National Guard during the period intervening between the death of Maj.-Gen. Sanford and the appointment, as his suc-



York. They were exactly the same as those of the Confederate artillery, and in the present situation a cause of trouble. During the rest of the campaign officers and men wore the army blouse and trousers with the gray cap, getting on very well without any full dress. They also dispensed with the services of the band, finding it too expensive a luxury. In fact, it cost the officers over \$2000 up to August 18. As their shoes began to wear out, they adopted the army brogan or "mud scow," as it was termed, and found its low heel and broad sole much the best for a soldier's use.

In addition to the ordinary drills, detachments from the regiment were sent, from time to time, to guard the different parts of the railroad to Winchester, which was frequently torn up by guerrillas. Pickets were also

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cessor, of Gen. Shaler by Gov. Fenton. He resigned his commission on September 13, 1869. He was elected for three consecutive terms president of the Army and Navy Club, succeeding Gen. Hancock.

Gen. Aspinwall was appointed volunteer aide-de-camp to the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, Gen. Ambrose C. Burnside, in December, 1862, and served with him during the disastrous Fredericksburg campaign. By direction of Gen. Burnside, he made the first report of the battle of Fredericksburg to President Lincoln in person. He subsequently received the thanks of the commanding general for the service performed by him.

About two years before his death, Gen. Aspinwall, with other members of George Washington Post, visited the United States man-of-war *Tennessee*, lying off Twenty-third Street, N. R. In descending the steps leading to the wharf, he slipped and fell, breaking his leg. The surgeon, before setting the limb, proposed to give him chloroform. "No, no," said the general, "give me a cigar." His wish was complied with, and he underwent the painful operation with great fortitude. For months he was confined to the house, after this mishap, but he finally recovered the full use of his limb.

Gen. Aspinwall was over six feet in height, and of commanding presence. Though of dignified carriage, he was genial and affable. Several years before his death he declined to take the nomination for mayor of this city.





maintained upon the different roads leading into the town.

The pickets were sent out in squads of twelve men under a sergeant and corporal, and were "out" five days, rations being sent to them daily from camp in a wagon. They were also daily visited by the brigade officer of the day. In the daytime they had but little to do, but after dark they went out in pairs and laid down where they could see as much as possible without being seen, and kept a strict watch. On one of the first pickets was a big, good-natured recruit named Harp, one of those who enlisted in Company K the day the regiment had left New York. Harp was a great boaster. One day he had been talking largely of what *he* would do if he was attacked, etc., and at night it came his turn to go on post. There was an old abandoned graveyard near his station and a number of giant fire-flies in the air. The combination utterly demoralized him. He first declared they were men with lanterns and was going to fire at them, but was restrained by his companion. He finally got over the lantern idea, but swore the lights were "corpse candles." No one of the squad knew what these were. Neither did Harp, for that matter, except that they had something to do with ghosts, and he was afraid of ghosts. He declared that he would do double duty up to midnight, but that he would not stay on that post after that hour, even if he were to be court-martialed and shot for disobedience of orders. This was a terrible state of things. For the Twenty-second to have a man who was afraid was bad, but to have one who was afraid of "corpse candles" would, if reported, make it the laughing-stock of the



brigade. A solemn council of the picket (which was composed of a lot of reckless young fellows) was held, and it was decided to give the seer of ghosts "a good scare." After the men had loaded their rifles at night, as they always did, one of them got possession of the delinquent's gun and drew the charge, leaving a load of only half the powder and a wad of paper instead of a bullet. Harp was put on post, close to the graveyard, from 10 to 12 P.M., and as midnight approached and it was thought he was getting uneasy, his companion pretended he heard a noise, and crawled away to investigate it, leaving Harp alone. In the meantime, one of the other men had turned his jacket inside out, tied a handkerchief round his head and armed himself with a revolver, having only caps on the nipples. When Harp was alone this man crept up to him through the bushes. When he got within twenty feet, Harp challenged him. The supposed Confederate jumped out into the moonlight and snapped a cap at Harp, who promptly fired back, but, of course, did no harm. The expectation then was that Harp would run. In fact nine men out of ten would have done so, if they had found themselves standing with an empty gun in front of a man armed with a revolver who was deliberately shooting at them. But Harp, although afraid of ghosts, was not at all afraid of a man, and instead of running began to load. Thereupon the other man ran. He had not got down the road a hundred feet before he heard Harp's rammer rattle on the ground, indicating that he had thrown it down without stopping to return it. At this the runner, with great presence of mind, promptly jumped off the side of the road into the bushes below. It was



fortunate he did so, for he was scarcely out of the moonlight before a bullet struck where he had been standing. The rest of the picket at once came tearing up. "I have killed him, boys—I have killed him," said Harp. "He went head over heels down there when he was hit."

So the picket hunted all around over the old rifle-pits and through the blackberry bushes to find the dead "reb," but could not do so, although assisted by the man himself, who had gone back, turned his jacket, got his gun, and come out to help find his own corpse. After this the picket had more respect for Harp.

At this time there was great feeling among a certain class in the North, and in particular in Maryland and Kentucky in regard to "interfering with the slaves," and the Government had taken a neutral position on the subject, so as "not to offend the border States." The orders were strict that negroes were not to be permitted to pass inside the Union lines, but it was one thing to make orders and another to enforce them.

The Twenty-second prided itself upon obeying orders, but it proved, in practice, to be impossible for its members, or for those of any other Northern organization, when on picket, to see the color of the poor bedraggled, foot-sore wretches, who would suddenly appear in front of them, in the gray of the morning, having walked ten or fifteen miles during the night, seeking the protection of the Union lines—frequently a woman, carrying a baby, and with little children clinging to her skirts. The men carried their few possessions in a big bundle tied to a stick, and the women usually "toted" a roll of bedding. As they approached, the pickets in-



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

*History of the Twenty-Second Regiment*

85

variably found something that required their attention in another part of their beat, so that the "contrabands" slipped through without their noticing them.

The rush of these into the lines was very great, and Harper's Ferry was soon crowded with nearly 5000 runaway slaves.

How they lived was a mystery. They crowded the empty houses, and overran the camp, washing clothes,



SERVANTS OF ONE COMPANY, HARPER'S FERRY.

selling pastry, berries and similar articles, and doing the odd jobs in which the negro delights. Nearly every mess, and many of the men, had a servant who was glad to do anything for something to eat, or for a small quantity of loose change. When the place was captured by Jackson, in September, some of the regiment who were left behind in the hospital and were captured





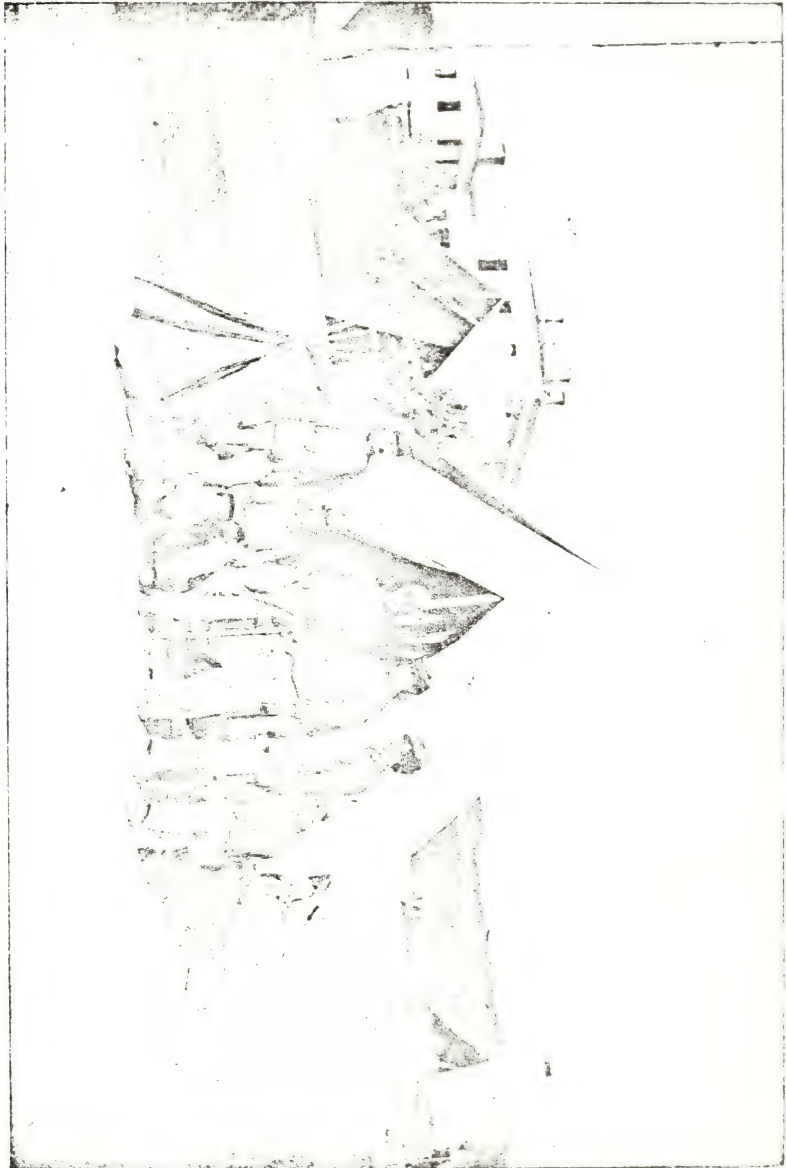
but not taken away, reported afterwards that all these poor creatures were taken from their houses, formed in a great drove, and driven South, like so many cattle, crying and wailing for their lost glimpse of freedom, and presenting a heart-rending spectacle as they were marched down the valley.

The weather at Harper's Ferry, during the summer, was very trying. During the day the heat would be intense— $100^{\circ}$  to  $115^{\circ}$  in the tents. The glare of the sun from the white tents and trodden clay of the streets of the camp was like the heat of a baker's oven. The sun went down in a blaze of glory, the sunsets being something beyond description. The western sky would be a sea of translucent mother-of-pearl, with rosy islands, gradually changing from one hue to another, so that at dress parade men, who were far from romantic, would sometimes let the orders escape them while watching the marvelous picture spread upon the clouds before them.

When the sun was fairly set, the air became chill and the dew heavy. The men slept in their clothes, with their blouses and overcoats over their blankets, and even then were often cold. The sentries and pickets sleeping without cover, would wring the dew out of their blankets every morning as if there had been a rain. It was a singular experience to be on sentry duty from 3 to 5 A. M. A heavy overcoat and the exertion of walking one's beat was insufficient to keep one warm. The gun-barrel was like an icicle, so that, having no gloves, the men often wrapped the coat-tails of their overcoats around it so as to be able to carry it. Suddenly, after two hours' walking, the sentry, while still



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CAPTAIN AND SERGEANTS, F COMPANY, AT HARPER'S FERRY.  
First Sergt. E. J. Allen, Capt. A. N. Francis, Sergt. Edward Russell,  
Sergeant Thomas Lawrence, Sergt. Chas. W. Poole,  
Corp. Charles Hamilton, Sergt. Chas. D. Wilson.



chilled to the bone, would see the sun shoot up over the mountains like a great red football, and in half an hour the thermometer would be at  $90^{\circ}$ , and he would be wishing he could find a shady place.

Frequently the monotony of the hot days and cold nights would be broken by a heavy storm. A small cloud would come up over the hills and in almost no time a gale would be upon the camp. Some of them were "corkers." In these the rain descended in sheets, the thunder roared, the wind blew a hurricane and frequent flashes of vivid lightning made it almost as light as day. The scene it illuminated was unique—a hundred tents rocked in the wind, the flies and flaps crackling like loose sails on a vessel struck by a squall, and 500 officers and men in various stages of undress were to be seen hard at work outside their tents, soaked to the skin by the pelting rain, some holding on to the guy ropes and tent poles, others driving in loose tent pegs, and all using language which was bluer than the lightning. Every once in a while, down would go a tent, the wet, heavy canvas half smothering those of its occupants whose confidence in the security of its fastenings had induced them to remain inside. Their efforts to crawl out from under the wet canvas were most amusing—to everybody but themselves.

The sentries did not enjoy this style of weather, particularly those whose duty it was to walk the line of posts extending along the edge of the steep bluffs overhanging the Shenandoah, where to walk out of the beaten track, was to get a fall of 200 to 300 feet. Neither did the members of the Grand Rounds who had to pass along this and other beats after mid-



night. One night during a storm, the Grand Rounds approached so close to a sentry that when he first became conscious of something moving in the darkness and came to a "charge" his bayonet struck the buttons of the sergeant of the guard.

The most pleasant part of the day was between dress parade and tattoo. The heat had then abated and the cool of the night air was most refreshing. The men would gather in their company streets, tell stories, crack jokes and sing songs of all kinds, patriotic, college and sentimental, those with a rousing chorus being the favorites. Many of them, now middle-aged, often recall these hours as among the most pleasant of all that linger in the memories of the experiences of a busy life.

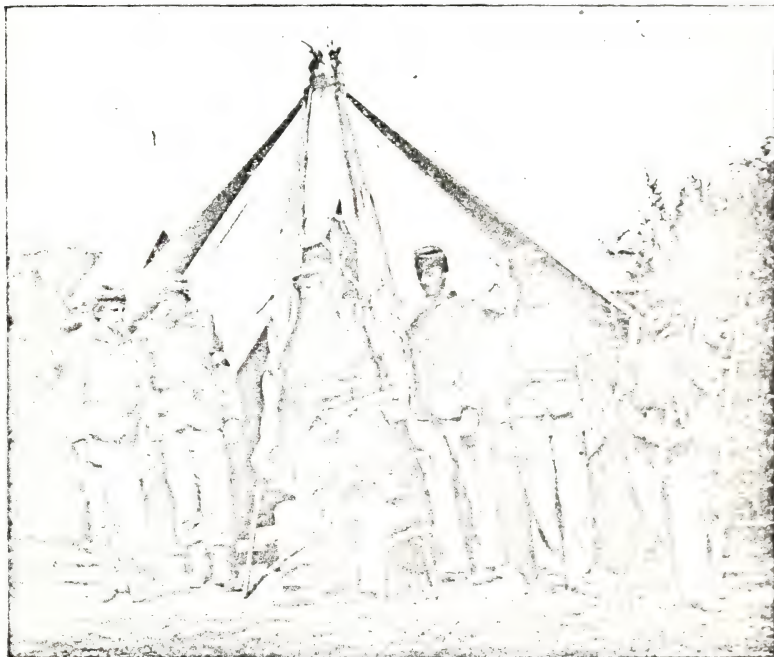
Most of the songs sung by the soldiers in the field were pathetic, rather than warlike. "John Brown's Body," "Rally 'round the Flag," and "Tramp, Tramp," were favorites, but there were more like "Who Will Care for Mother Now?" "The Vacant Chair," and similar songs, which seemed to be more admired. "Marching Through Georgia" was not known until after the war. One of the most curious things in regard to war songs is that "Dixie," which had originally been a negro minstrel song, was the campaign song of the Republicans during the Lincoln campaign and was taken up by the South after his election.

It is unnecessary to say that practical jokes were incessant. The extent to which all had become accustomed to them is shown by the following incident: The importation of liquor into camp was forbidden, and many packages were seized by the provost marshal





at the depot. It was, therefore, a luxury. One day Sergt. Frank Brown of A Company (afterwards Major of Cavalry) announced proudly that he had "euchered the provost guard and ran in some whiskey from home" and invited a dozen of his friends into his tent to "take the oath." They responded with alac-



NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF, HARPER'S FERRY.

Right Gen. Guide Wyckoff.	Color Sergt. Wm. Lamont.	Com. Sergt. Thompson.
Lockwood.	Sergt. Major Charles Walker.	Color Sergt. Geo. V. W. House.
		Left Gen. Guide Maj. Goldschmidt.

rity, filed into the tent, closed the tent flaps and seated themselves in a tight circle around their host, who sat down with his back against the rear tent pole, reached his hand behind him and groped into a hole which formed his cellar, and produced a black bottle which he handed to the man on his right. The latter took a long



drink and passed it to the next, who drank and passed the bottle in like manner. After every one of the dozen had drank his fill, no man saying anything, the bottle finally reached its owner. He held it up to the light and said: "Well, boys, there is more left than I expected; here is luck," took a long drink, choked and spit out what he had not swallowed and said: "H——, this is vinegar! I got the wrong bottle." It is unnecessary to say that a general roar went up from each of his dozen guests, not one of whom had manifested by a movement that he had been drinking vinegar instead of whiskey, for fear of preventing the others from being sold as he had been. Brown, who had intended no sell, apologized profusely for the mistake and produced another bottle which he tested himself before passing-around, and to which his guests did ample justice.

There were often sad scenes, as well as pleasant ones. Once in the gray of the morning, one of the outposts brought in a man to the guard. He was an elderly citizen with a grip sack, looking like a well-to-do Western farmer—which he was. He had come from the railroad and had a pass to go to the camp of the Eighty-seventh Ohio. The officer of the guard told him that he could not go further until after sunrise, when the sentries would stop challenging and asked him to sit down by the guard-fire until then. The old farmer stood with his back to the fire and chatted with the officer and some of the guard, the most of the "off relief" lying around the fire more or less asleep. He said he had come on from Ohio to see his only son who had left college to enlist in the Eighty-seventh and who he had heard was sick, praising his son with a father's pride



and saying they would soon fix him up when he got him "home to mother." The lieutenant said, "What is your boy's name?"

He gave the name, which was rather an unusual one, "Walter Wilkenson," or something like that. The word aroused one of the sleepy guard who had not previously paid any attention to the conversation. "Walter Wilkenson," he said; "why, that's the name



COMPANY A, OFFICERS AND MEN, HARPER'S FERRY.

of the man who was buried yesterday from the Eighty-seventh Ohio." The old farmer dropped upon the log in front of the fire, as if the thoughtless speaker had struck him with a club, buried his face in his hands and sat silent for ten minutes, a picture of grief. Then, drawing a long breath, he lifted such a changed face and sadly murmured: "The Lord's will be done." The words were true. He had come all the way from Ohio to



find his boy dead and buried on the very day before his arrival.

The regiment did not have much "spirituous comfort." The provost guard at the depot was very strict. All boxes except those addressed to an officer, were opened and all alcoholic beverages confiscated. The members of the regiment soon learned to evade this by having all their boxes addressed to their captains. No objection was made to this by the regimental officers, as the men did not abuse the privilege. Those in other organizations, however, were not so much to be trusted, and devised all kinds of schemes "to get around the provost guard."

It is a curious thing about military life that the putting on of a uniform seems to destroy the sense of personal responsibility and to make grown men act like boys. Unless watched and governed by their officers, they will perpetrate all sorts of wild pranks and glory in it. Many are apt to drink to excess if they can get liquor. Consequently military authorities are rigorous in preventing it from being brought into places where there are a number of troops. On the other hand there is such a profit in supplying it that many attempt to do so.

On one occasion three nicely dressed Jewish gentlemen got off the train at Harper's Ferry, having five large Saratoga trunks. The officer of the guard stepped up and politely inquired what was in them. "Clothing—only our clothing," was the reply.

"All right," he said, "just open them, will you?"

The gentlemen demurred somewhat, but when they saw that he was firm, finally did so. When the trunks





were opened, they appeared, as stated, to be merely filled with clothing. The officer, however, thrust his arm into one of the trunks, felt around and soon drew it out with a bottle of whiskey; this was followed by another and still another. The trunks were then unpacked and it was found that below six inches from the top they were packed with alternate layers of clothing and bottles of whiskey. The whiskey was at once confiscated and sent to the hospital, the officer and sergeant of the guard only keeping two bottles each as a perquisite. The owners swore and cried, and cried and swore, but they were in the region of martial law and were only laughed at.

The regiment was not favored with many formal religious services, although there was a short prayer meeting at 9 p. m. every night. Its chaplain, a prominent New-York clergyman, had a large church in New York and was seldom able to leave it. Up to July 27, he had only been with the regiment on three or four Sundays. On one of these advantage was taken of the occasion to have the regiment attend divine service in a body. An empty church near the camp was taken possession of and was filled solidly by an interested and attentive congregation. The eloquent chaplain, who was full of patriotic fervor, improved the occasion and made up for his previous absence by a most eloquent but lengthy prayer. The officers and men had not been inside of a house for over a month, and although the doors and windows of the church were open and some of them missing, the crowd made the air close, at least to those who had become accustomed to spend their days and nights in the open air. The day was hot and the buzz-



ing of the flies and the murmuring of a gentle breeze outside chimed in softly with the voice of the preacher, and one by one the audience dropped off into peaceful slumber. The writer, by a great effort, forced himself to listen for thirty-five minutes, and then, observing that the great majority of his comrades had yielded to the situation, he, too, succumbed. Subsequent inquiry failed to disclose anyone who had heard the prayer through, so that it is impossible to say how long it lasted. When it did end, as all things must, each one of the audience awoke with a start and glared at his neighbors with an expression of indignation at their impoliteness in having gone to sleep when the chaplain was praying.

During June and July, elections were held to fill the places of those officers who had not been able to go into service with the regiment. Adj. J. Henderson Grant, afterwards commander in the Japanese army, was elected major, Capt. Otis, Company A, who had been acting as major, preferring the position of senior captain; Lieut. W. J. A. McGrath, C Company, was appointed adjutant; Lieut. J. Farley Cox, of A Company, was elected captain of Company D, of which he had been acting captain since it left New York; Lieut. Geo. Fuller being elected as first lieutenant of A Company and David B. Gilbert, second lieutenant.

In Company C Charles A. Post was elected as second lieutenant in place of Adj. McGrath.

In B Company Aaron C. Allen was promoted to be first lieutenant and W. W. Remmy elected second lieutenant.

In D Company Joseph T. Baldwin was elected first lieutenant and Thos. L. Thornell, second lieutenant.



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CAPT. AND MRS. COX, CAPT. G. B. POST, LIEUT. H. CRUGER OAKLEY.



ADJUTANT W. J. A. MCGRATH,



In E Company W. H. Hoyt was elected first lieutenant.

In G Company W. A. Gibson was elected second lieutenant.

In H Company William Man was elected second lieutenant.

Com. Sergt. George McClure was appointed commissary, and Private John Thompson (A Company) commissary sergeant.

The flies were a terrible nuisance in the camp. They filled the tents in swarms and buzzed and bit so that resting, reading, "writing home" (an important part



COMPANY B, HARPER'S FERRY.

of a soldier's life) were almost impossible. Letter writing in camp is usually done on a tin plate resting on the knee, and requires industry and ingenuity, and usually produces a cramp somewhere about the writer's person.





The addition of a dozen industrious and hungry flies elevated it into a penance.

Another great inconvenience was the want of change, which was the only shape in which money had value. All coin had disappeared with the rise in gold. Fractional currency had not yet been invented, and it was almost impossible to make the small purchases of berries, milk, etc., which added so much to the army ration and to pay for the washing of the soldiers' underclothing, the receipt from which appeared to be the sole support of the females of the neighborhood. Postage stamps were used to a considerable extent, but the trouble was a constant and serious one.



"OBEYING ORDERS" (PAGE 85).



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
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TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT AT HARTER'S FERRY.

INSPECTION.

IN SQUARE.

GUARD MOUNT.



## CHAPTER VIII.

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### AN ATTACK THREATENED.

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AS THE summer wore on the situation became more and more warlike. The guerrillas became bolder and frequently attacked and destroyed wagons. In the latter part of July, there was quite an excitement in camp as an attack was anticipated. The men slept with their shoes on (which soldiers dislike extremely to do) and rifles loaded, but nothing appeared to disturb them. The brigade was constantly active. The cavalry scoured the woods on the Loudon side of the Shenandoah, often bringing in squads of prisoners, while detachments from the infantry were frequently sent out down the valley to protect the railroad to Winchester, which was being constantly threatened by guerrillas. This railroad was one of the curiosities of the region. It was laid with the old fashioned strap rail, the ends of which were apt to turn upwards when a spike got loose, making what were called "snake heads," which had an interesting way of coming through the car floor when a wheel struck them as the end of the rail went over instead of under it. The rolling stock consisted of platform cars and an engine. This had once been a platform car itself but



had risen to the dignity of a locomotive by being rigged up with a stationary engine set in the middle, which operated a walking-beam that turned the wheels of the car steamboat fashion. The less said about its speed the better. A few men could easily rip out these flat rails in a few minutes and stop the road, but it was just as easy to put them back when you could trace out the place where they had thrown the missing rails, which was never far away, as they were too heavy for raiders to carry off.

The enemy did not confine their operations to the railroad, but pushed their scouting parties boldly forward, sometimes approaching so near the lines as to be visible from Maryland Heights and their fires could often be seen at night. Capt. McGrath, who commanded the battery upon the mountain, dominated all points within four miles with his heavy guns. He was incessantly on the alert and after July 15, it was not an uncommon event for him to open fire at some of these scouting parties, as a gentle hint for them to keep their distance. This he would do at night as well as in the daytime, aiming at their camp fires. This was interesting to the Twenty-second as the shells usually passed directly over the regimental camp, and to them, therefore, the accuracy of his fuses was a matter of some consideration. It is gratifying to be able to state that none of the shells, as far as known, burst over the camp. McGrath's aim was so good that one day when a body of Confederate cavalry were seen to enter an abandoned school-house two miles from the river for noonday rest, he put an eleven inch shell into the building, stampeding the whole party.





STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

History of the Twenty-Second Regiment

105

One dark night some officers of the Twenty-second coming out of a tent observed a bright light over on the summit of Loudon, and at once proceeded to "stake it out" so as to be able to locate it the next day. They had just completed an elaborate triangulation which they felt sure would give them the exact point,



NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF COMPANY C, HARPER'S FERRY.  
Sergt. Augustus Brownell. Sergt. W. W. Butler. Corp. E. L. Avery.  
Sergt. W. W. Evans. Sergt. John H. Palmer.  
Corp. Robt. Forrest. First Sergt. Geo. Arnold. Corp. H. P. Franklin.

when the supposed fire rose slowly above the trees and they found to their disgust that they had "staked out" the planet Venus for a Confederate camp fire.\*

In July Gen. McClellan made his celebrated "change of base" and Gen. Pope assumed command of the armies in front of Washington. He issued his well-

\*A similar occurrence took place in Buffalo in 1892. See page 535.  
post



known order that his "headquarters were in the saddle" and that every soldier should carry ninety rounds of ammunition, which order did not create a favorable impression upon the rank and file of the Twenty-second.

All the natives of the country around Harper's Ferry were "secesh." The so-called "grape vine telegraph" by which information was received from the Southern army, was in full blast and the most thrilling news was daily brought in by the hucksters. Consequently reports "that Jackson was coming up the valley," that he was at Martinsburg, Front Royal and a number of other places, were circulated through the camp at least three times a day. It was evident, however, from other things than rumor that matters were becoming serious.

The regimental drills began to assume a more warlike character day after day. The brigade was practiced in attack and defence, and carefully drilled in skirmishing by the bugle, over the ground extending from the town down the valley, which they would have to defend in case of an attack. It became very proficient in this and it was a pretty sight to see the long lines sweeping over the valley and up and down the hills, the men running forward, falling down and firing and then dashing forward. As a large part of the ground was quite stony, the "loading and firing lying" was quite an ordeal and the soldiers of the present day should rejoice that the introduction of the breech loader has preserved them from it. Their predecessors, in performing it, dropped on their faces and fired; they then turned on their backs, placed the butt of the rifle between their toes, drew out a cartridge, tore the paper off the butt end with their teeth and poured the powder in the barrel. This was



no easy task to perform when lying on one's back as the barrel of the rifle was of necessity almost horizontal. They then pushed in the ball, drew out the rammer, rammed the ball, returned the rammer and rolled over on their left side and capped. To do all this with a sharp stone under one's spine and another under the hips, as was apt to be the case was far from agreeable. It was also destructive to one's clothes, but this no one cared about, as they were paid for by "Uncle Samuel."



MISTAKEN IDENTITY.

There was one old woman who sold berries to the camp who claimed to be "Union." On the faith of this rare qualification she received an enormous custom from the men, and was very popular. One day as the long line of skirmishers, falling back in a feigned retreat, marched through the outskirts of the town, a squad of them passed through the back yard of her house. They were so covered with dust that the color of their uniforms was gray instead of blue. Thinking them to be Confederates attacking the Union lines, the old woman lifted up her voice in tremulous congratulations, and wished them "success over the Yanks!" Imagine her horror when she heard the voices of two or three of her best customers inquiring, "What has become of your Union sentiments, Auntie?" "You are dead wrong this time," and similar remarks. After this her trade fell off.

On August 25, Capt. Otis (A Co.) was appointed judge advocate of a general court-martial at St. John's



Run, seventy-five miles up the Potomac, and went there for a week, taking with him the writer as recorder. Lieut.-Col. Satterlee and Maj. E. Ellery Anderson, of the Twelfth N. G., were detailed on the same duty.



PRIVATE OFF PICKET DUTY.

This was a disagreeable service, as the condition of affairs was such that all officers and men wished to be with their companies, and those detailed were rejoiced when they were relieved. The reports that a large body of the enemy were at Winchester took definite shape about this time, and the brigade was ordered under arms. Officers' horses were kept saddled and

bridled, and the men slept with their shoes on. It proved, however, to be a false alarm. The left wing of the Eighty-seventh Ohio was sent to Pawpaw, in West Virginia to repel an attack by guerrillas. As usual upon the approach of too strong a force to be handled by them, each of the guerrillas at once became an honest farmer, but only to resume his warlike character as soon as the troops were withdrawn. The Eighty-seventh, however, secured a number of prisoners, and thereby subtracted a certain amount from the force of the enemy.





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COMPANY A IN LINE, HARPER'S FERRY.

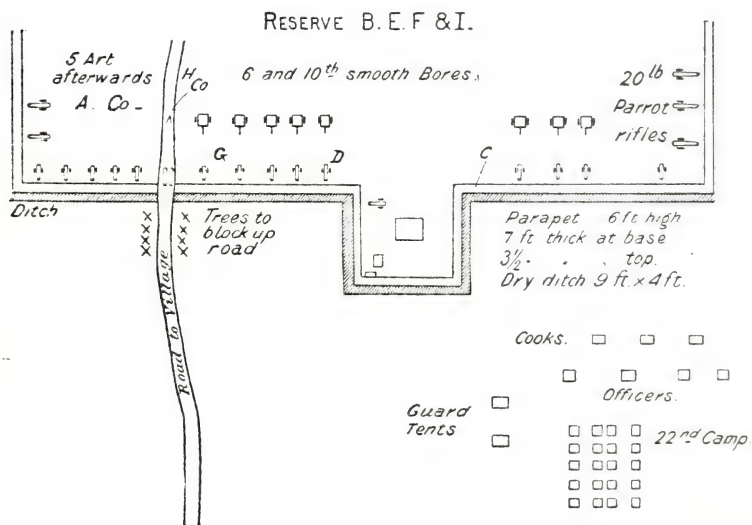


COMPANY G IN LINE, HARPER'S FERRY.



Shortly after the regimental camp of the Twenty-second had been removed inside the Bolivar lines, during the first week after the arrival of the regiment, the construction of a line of breastworks was begun on Camp Hill, which line extended along the top of the hill from the bluffs overhanging the Shenandoah, about 350 yards towards the Potomac. Work upon this was con-

PLAN OF WORKS AT HARPERS FERRY. JULY 19. 1862.



tinued all summer by gangs of negroes. In June and July, Company G, Capt. Butler, constructed the platforms for two rifle guns in the left bastion, and, on July 15, moved from the regimental camp within the works, to man these guns, relieving a detachment from the Sixtieth N. G. Volunteers. The work was substantially finished during July, and was armed with four twenty-pound Parrott rifles and a number of six and ten-pound



brass Napoleons (smooth bores), all being field guns. The members of the Twenty-second were not greatly impressed with the value of this as a fortification. It was merely a straight breastwork, with a dry ditch, and a slight abattis in front, but without traverses or anything to protect those defending it from a flank or rear fire. While it was of some value to keep off an enemy coming up



the valley, it was clearly untenable in case a battery should be put upon Loudon Heights on the Virginia side, not to mention Maryland Heights. This was a matter frequently discussed by the members of the Twenty-second, who pointed out to each other the exact place, in a little orchard on Loudon, where an attacking force would be able to plant a battery which would enfilade the whole work, while only one or two of the Parrotts in the left bastion would be able to reply. This criticism was scoffed at by those in authority, upon the ground that McGrath's heavy guns on Maryland Heights would prevent any such battery from being established. To this the answer was, "But what if anything happens to McGrath's guns?"

The result was precisely what had been so often predicted and affords one of the many instances where



the North had to pay a terrible price in blood and money as a penalty for maintaining an incompetent officer in an important position.

When just before Antietam, Jackson came up the valley, Col. Miles was ordered "to hold Harper's Ferry" at all hazards. Whether or not his forces should have been sent to join McClellan may be questioned. There can be no dispute, however, that the way to hold Harper's Ferry was to hold Maryland Heights with every available man. With a stupidity, amounting to criminality, Miles left the defence of this, the key of his position, in the hands of Col. Ford (who was afterwards dismissed for cowardice), and when Ford became frightened and retreated, withdrew all his forces (11,500 men) into Harper's Ferry proper, a "blind alley," as it is well termed in the Comte de Paris's "History of the Civil War," commanded on every side by the surrounding hills. At the very time when the heavy guns of McGrath were driving back the attack and keeping Jackson at a distance, he was ordered to spike his guns and return to the town. He delayed as long as possible, maintaining his fire for an hour and a-half afterwards, and, finally, when a third order was received so that obedience was imperative, rolled his guns over the mountain-side, bursting into



COL. DIXON S. MILES.





tears as he gave the order, and retreated with his command.

This sealed the fate of the place. The Confederates advanced slowly, for they could scarcely credit their own success and feared a trap. But the next noon both Loudon and Maryland Heights were



N. H. Babcock.

W. H. Shelton.

C. J. Buckley.

Servant.

G. Foster. A. Foster.

crowded with Confederate batteries, whose fire took in the rear of the Union works and searched out every place where the troops were assembled, while they had no opportunity to reply.

In a short time surrender was inevitable, and on September 14, 1862, and just as the flag had been lowered, Miles himself was struck by a shell and



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OFFICERS AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, COMPANY G, AT HARPER'S FERRY.

Serjt. Francis H. Slade,

Ticor, Gibson.

Serge. Henry F. Howland

Corporal J. Van Bower.

SERGEANT JOHN E. BRIGHT, Corporal Baker, is from Mount  
Sergeant Henry B. Brock, Corporal Baker, is from Mount  
Sergeant William T. Souther, Corporal Baker, is from Mount

**Bergs. Wm. J. Souder**

Corporate Involvement

Muker,

10

Benj. L. Birch.

Corr. 11.11.11

*Journal of Education*



killed. At that very time Franklin, with a strong relieving force, was within a few miles. But it was too late. The town with 11,500 men, 73 cannon and all its vast amount of ammunition and military stores was basely abandoned to the Confederates, giving them the very things they most wanted to oppose McClellan. Some of the guns which were behind the breastworks were used against the Union forces until they were finally surrendered at Appomattox.\*

On August 25, the Twenty-second was moved into camp behind the breastwork, and set to work at artillery drill, the Jackson Light Artillery acting as instructors.

The following was the position of the companies:

A, Right battery.

H, Road.

G, Three right curtain pieces.

D, Three left curtain pieces.

C, Two pieces left of curtain.

I. F. B. and E, In reserve.

The following order was issued :

HEADQUARTERS TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT INFANTRY, N. G. S. N. Y.,  
CAMP ASPINWALL, BOLIVAR, August 26, 1862.

*General Orders No. 39.*

I. Until further orders, the hours for drill will be devoted by those companies having batteries in charge, to artillery ; by those in reserve, to infantry drill.

II. The guns are apportioned in General Order No. 30, August 25, will be designated as Battery "A," Battery "H," etc., and each piece comprised in said batteries will be numbered from one upwards, commencing on the right.

\*See appendix, pages 655, 656, 657, 658, for a detailed account of the surrender, for which the author is indebted to Col. John Ward, then a captain in the Twelfth N. G. S. N. Y., which was captured at that time.



III. Commandants of battery companies will form detachments, to consist of one sergeant as chief of piece, one corporal as chief of caisson, one corporal as gunner, and seven men for the service of each piece. A piece may have more than one detachment, and in the case of disability of any of a detachment serving a piece, the deficiency will be filled from the other detachment attached to the piece. Detachments will be numbered one and two, and those attached to a piece will keep the same in proper order.

IV. In the event of commandants of battery companies requiring aid from the reserve, they will apply for the same to the adjutant, who will send it to

Battery Company "A" from Company "E"

" " "H" " " "I"

" " "G" " " "I"

" " "D" " " "F"

" " "C" " " "B"

Any such aid sent will be immediately reported to lieutenant-colonel commanding.

V. Lounging about the guns, limbers or caissons is prohibited.

VI. Lieuts. Hoyt, Remmey, Thornell and Gibson are detailed to instruct the right wing of the One Hundred and Eleventh National Guard Volunteers, four officers having been asked for.

VII. One gun having been removed, by order of Col. Miles, from Battery Company "D," that battery will consist of two guns.

VIII. All orders in force previous to change of encampment, not changed by the above, will be observed.

By order of

LIEUT.-COL. LLOYD ASPINWALL, *Colonel Commanding.*

WM. J. A. MCGRATH, *Adjutant.*

None of the officers or men of the Twenty-second knew anything about artillery. But they were intelligent, and above all, were anxious to learn. When a thing was once explained to them, that was sufficient.



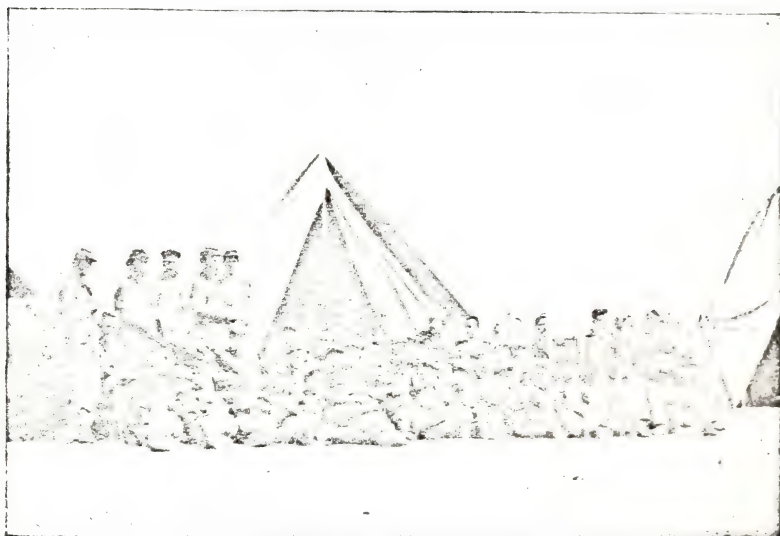


STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

*History of the Twenty-Second Regiment*

119

Consequently, in less than a week they became as familiar with the drill as their instructors. The squads having the brass Napoleons vied with each other in keeping them polished. All sorts of materials, even to tooth powder, were used to bring out an extra glitter, which, by the bye, while adding largely to their appearance, interfered with shooting them. But in those days, accurate firing seemed not to be considered as a part of



COMPANY H, HARPER'S FERRY.

the military art. Not a single shot was ever fired from any of these guns, nor were any instructions ever given in regard to ranges or elevations. It seemed to be considered that that was a matter to be acquired in actual combat. One member of a squad remembered he had heard his mother say "that vinegar was good to clean brass." Accordingly, the squad saved their vinegar ration, and one evening "doused" their Napoleon



gun with it. Unfortunately, the one who had remembered the receipt had forgotten the most important part of it—that the vinegar must be wiped off promptly. Through this mistake it was left on all night, with the result that the gun was of a fine bronze color in the morning, inciting the captain's and first sergeant's wrath, and requiring the squad to keep a man scouring it for a week before it was presentable.

On August 25, Harper's Ferry was reinforced by the arrival of several newly-raised regiments of New York volunteers—the One Hundred and Eleventh and One Hundred and Twenty-sixth and others—who occupied the old camp of the Twenty-second just beyond the works. A regiment of New York cavalry<sup>\*</sup> also rode in commanded by Col. Davis, a regular officer. This regiment escaped before the surrender under cover of the night. The infantry were splendid regiments, each 1,000 strong, composed of fine young fellows from the interior of the State. If they had been used to fill up the depleted veteran regiments they would have been of the greatest value. But in pursuance of the absurd policy followed by New York State during the War, the veteran regiments, whose ranks had been thinned by hard service, were consolidated and their experienced officers mustered out, while commissions in the new regiments were issued to those who could recruit men, without the slightest regard for their military qualifications. There was not among the regiments in question a single officer who knew even how to drill his men, so that the corporals of the Twenty-second were detailed as instructors of companies.

To show how little these officers knew, it may be

*\* The Eighth New York Cavalry,  
H. H.*





TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT AT HARPER'S FERRY.

COMPANY D, COMPANY F AND COMPANY G IN COLUMN.



stated that one day some of the Twenty-second, in going through one of the camps, stopped to inspect a squad which was being drilled in the "Manual," in front of the captain's tent, by an old sergeant who had served in the Mexican War. Inside the tent were the captain and first lieutenant of the company, endeavoring to follow the drill in their copies of Casey's tactics, but not succeeding, for the very good reason that the sergeant was drilling according to Scott's tactics, which had been obsolete for a generation. When this fact was called to his attention by the Twenty-second men, he disdainfully snorted, and took his squad under the hill, where he drilled them according to Scott, to his heart's content.

A number of the officers of the Twenty-second, who subsequently accepted commissions in the volunteers, were quite surprised, on joining their new commands, to find the difference in the spirit of discipline and submission to hardship existing between the two organizations. In the Twenty-second the men knew their position as soldiers and their duties, and performed the latter as a matter of duty and self-respect. They rendered a willing obedience to the officers, and punishments were not required. They also knew that privation and hardship were a part of a soldier's life, and put up with them as a matter of course. On the other hand, many who had enlisted in the volunteers had no idea of military subordination, and often could be compelled to obey their officers only by force. Others who had been accustomed to the plainest of living were incessantly grumbling at the least privation. This was particularly the case with substitutes, who, as one officer said, "were always kicking."





## CHAPTER IX.

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### ORDERED HOME.

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THE enlistment of the Twenty-second expired on August 28, and on August 24 orders were issued directing them to return to New York.

The situation was very threatening, and the prospects of attack immediate. A meeting of the regiment was called, and, by vote of the men, the officers were authorized to offer the services of the regiment until September 1. Col. Miles, upon receipt, from Surg. Benjamin Lee, the secretary, of a copy of the resolution of the Board of Officers, returned the following reply:

HARPER'S FERRY, August 24, 1862.

DEAR DOCTOR :

I have just received the noble resolution of the Board of Officers of the Twenty-second Regiment. It is just what I expected, but it is out of my power to accede to the wishes of the officers to retain the regiment until the first of September, as I firmly believe a contingency may arise before you pass Baltimore, absolutely requiring the services of the regiment in another important field, where, I have the utmost confidence, that your discipline and valor will be conspicuously displayed. Should information be received between this and your departure of an advance of the enemy upon this point, I shall not hesitate to accept the services of the regiment until it is repulsed.

I am, Doctor, with great regard,

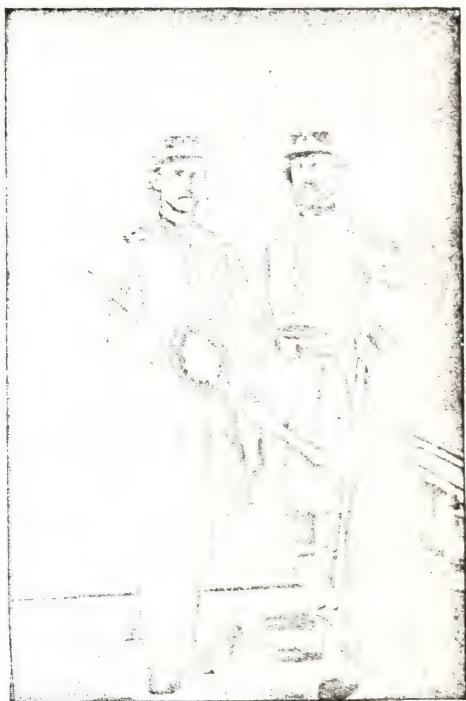
Your obedient servant and friend,

D. S. MILES, *Commanding Colonel Second Infantry.*

TO SURG. BENJAMIN LEE, *Sec. Board of Officers Twenty-second Reg.*



A telegram was then sent to Gen. Wool, who answered, accepting the offer with thanks. This was received at 5 P. M., just as the regiment had struck camp and packed its equipage. The regiment was at once formed, and the correspondence read, the last order being received with great cheering. At the end of the reinlistment, the regiment was again ordered back to New York, and took the cars on August 31, at 4 P. M. During this period the celebrated partisan, Mosby, made a raid on the railroad between Harper's Ferry and Winchester, destroying a considerable portion of it. On August 27, Companies E and B went to Winchester as train guard, slept in the depot, and returned the next day with nine prisoners from Ashby's cavalry. The raids continuing, Col. Miles despatched Company I, Capt. Gardner, of the Twenty-second, with 250 of the Sixtieth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, to open the railroad, and, if possible, to catch Mosby. The opening of



QUARTERMASTER CHARLES T. WHITE.  
SURGEON BENJAMIN LEE.



the road was not difficult, but the catching of Mosby, in view of the fact that his men were mounted upon the best horses that the valley could furnish, and were perfectly familiar with every one of the innumerable by-paths and wood-roads in the country, was a particularly difficult task for infantry.

On reaching Winchester, the detachment found the town deserted of all its inhabitants, and rumors that "Jackson was approaching" filled the air like mosquitoes. The reports by the grapevine telegraph came thick and fast that a trap had been laid to capture the whole expedition, and there was evidently more truth in the report than was customary in those coming from such sources.

The engine-driver of the locomotive attached to the platform train which had carried the men, either from terror or treason, had disappeared, but with some considerable difficulty a substitute was obtained and the detachment retreated just in season to return with the regiment. It was afterward found that they had left Winchester in the nick of time, for if they had remained for a very few hours longer they would have been cut off by Jackson's advance and captured. It is unnecessary to say that they did not capture Mosby.

On the arrival of the Twenty-second in Philadelphia, the various engine and hose companies, (who were all volunteers in those days) threw open their houses to the different companies to spend the night in, the men sleeping on the floors of their parlors. All were treated with the greatest hospitality by the patriotic firemen.

The regiment arrived in New York September 2, 1862. They were received at the dock by those



of its members who had been unable to accompany them to the front and by hosts of their friends and relatives, who in many cases failed to recognize the bronzed and tough-looking subjects into which the service had transformed them. The march to the armory will never be forgotten by those who took part in it.

The services in this campaign of the Twenty-second and of the other regiments of the National Guard which were called into the field were recognized by the State in the following order, which only gives them their just due:

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, S. N. Y.,  
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, Albany, September 6, 1862. }  
*General Order No. 70.*

The Commander-in-chief avails himself of the occasion of the return of the Seventh, Eighth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-Second, Twenty-fifth, Thirty-seventh, Forty-seventh, and Sixty-ninth Regiments, of the National Guards to the State of New York, to thank them for the services they have rendered to the country, and for the honor they have reflected on the State. Summoned the second time in thirteen months by a sudden and urgent call to the aid of the General Government, they consented cheerfully to the sacrifice of private interests, and abandoned, at a moment's notice, all private occupations, to hasten to the defence of the National Capital, then in danger. Habituated to the comforts and enjoyments of wealthy and peaceful communities, they have, during their prolonged absence from their homes, submitted without a murmur to the hardships, the privations, and to the labors of the life of a soldier, and they have discharged with fidelity and alacrity every duty they were called to perform, and have stood ready to encounter every danger they might be called upon to meet. Their conduct has entitled them to the thanks of the Government they were summoned to defend, and has won for





them the gratitude and confidence of the people. It gives assurances that notwithstanding the vast army of volunteers the State of New York has sent to the defence of the Union, she has, in her National Guards, always at command a force ready, now as heretofore, to respond to any call that may be made on it by the Government, and able at the same time to preserve the peace, maintain the rights and preserve the liberties of her own people, in whatever form, or from whatever quarter they may be assailed.

The Commander-in-chief will always esteem among the most important of his duties to aid by every means in his power in promoting the interests and contributing to the general efficiency of the citizen soldiery of the State.

By order of the Commander-in-chief,

THOS. HILLHOUSE, *Adjutant-General*.

e/ Gen. Hallock, however, took advantage of the occasion to display a sample of that peculiar wrong-headedness for which he was so justly celebrated.

e/ The battle of Chantilly, the last of the defeats under Pope, took place on August 31, 1862, and the Army of the Potomac had retreated to Washington, where it was being reorganized by McClellan. That troops were greatly needed was self-evident. The National War Committee of New York City, suggested the recall of the New York National Guard regiments then under splendid drill and discipline, to which Gen. Hallock made the following ill-natured and ungracious response:

WASHINGTON, September 2, 1862.

HON. D. D. FIELD AND OTHERS.

The New York Militia Regiments were requested to remain when the danger was more imminent than at present, but declined to do so. Under these circumstances they will not be recalled.

H. W. HALLOCK, *General in Chief*.

6/



This was asserting a pique of the writer, at the expense of the nation which places Gen. Halleck in a most unfavorable light. It was the more so as it was his own fault that the regiments had not remained for a longer period.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his unfair and untruthful statement created a perfect storm of indignation. Col. Lefferts of the Seventh, Col. Varian of the Eighth, and the commanding officers of the other regiments, including the Twenty-second, published official statements that their regiments had never been asked to remain in the service, but on the contrary, had volunteered to stay over their time and had even had difficulty in obtaining permission to do so. To these, no rejoinder was ever made.

The return of the Twenty-second was most timely so far as they were personally concerned. The Twelfth, who were to follow them the next day, were unable to do so, the railroad being torn up and they were captured with the rest of the garrison at Harper's Ferry, on September 14. If the Twenty-second had remained, it would have shared the same fate, without being of the slightest benefit, for the defence was so mismanaged, that its assistance would not have affected the result.





## CHAPTER X.

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### GUARDING SPINOLA'S BRIGADE.

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THE Twenty-second was mustered out of the service on September 5, 1862. Its members had hardly doffed their uniforms, become accustomed to sleeping within four walls, and begun to get their business affairs out of the tangle into which they had fallen, through their sudden departure and long absence, when they were again ordered into service.

Gen. Spinola had just recruited the "Spinola Brigade," 1,500 strong, which was encamped at East New York, near where the Eastern Park Ball Ground is now situated. The men all had their pockets full of bounty money, and as the General permitted a sutler to run an open bar in the camp, and a number of promises had been made to the men, which they claimed had not been fulfilled, the combination of discontent with whiskey not unnaturally caused an outbreak. This was another case of a new organization placed under green officers, who had not the respect of their men, and were unable to control them. So serious did the matter grow that the New York National Guard regiments were called out, and set at the pleasant work of guarding a lot of drunken soldiers, mostly Irish laborers.



This, too, after they had been away from their business for three whole months, and had, in many cases, in so doing, imperilled their situations. On September 14, 1862, the Twenty-second was ordered out "in heavy marching order, as in Virginia," and proceeded to East New York, relieving a detachment of 500 of the Seventh. They served on this duty from September 16 to September 22, 1862. They had a good deal of trouble to enforce order and to keep the men from deserting, and had to shoot two men before they could induce them to obey the sentries. The duty was very onerous. The camp was large, and the guard necessarily heavy. As men were constantly trying to break out, incessant vigilance was required from the sentries. Many of the Twenty-second were unable, after three months' absence, to leave their business, so that the regiment did not muster more than 350 rank and file, to take the place of 500 of the Seventh. Consequently the men had to serve on guard every other night, which is exhausting work.

The officers of the Twenty-second, appreciating this, made the service as easy as possible for the men, and, as there was nothing for them to do except guard duty, allowed those "off guard" to have their liberty, provided they remained in the neighborhood of the camp.

After this had continued for several days, some one of the Twenty-second wrote a letter to the newspapers stating it to be an outrage that a "gin mill" should be permitted in the camp, and that a regiment of the National Guard should be called out to suppress the disturbance which sprung from it. The result of this was a prompt visit from a staff officer of Gen. Dix,





the department commander, who closed the bar in the most summary manner, and thereby restored peace and order to the camp.

This occurrence naturally caused considerable comment in the newspapers, some of which were anxious to know if any of the brigade officers had been profiting by the sale of whiskey to the command, the result being that a decided coolness sprang up between these officers and the Twenty-second.

Whether it was in consequence of this or not, it is certain that a day or two afterwards Gen. "Dick" Busted (understood to be a political friend of Gen. Spinola), suddenly made his appearance at the camp and announced that he came to "inspect the Twenty-second." "Here was a pretty kettle of fish." Outside the second relief of the guard, which was at the guard tent, and the sentries, the men were scattered anywhere within three miles of the camp, and it was impossible to get them together. Their absence was with the tacit consent of their officers, but if published it might have caused comment.

General Busted was a loud-mouthed politician, nicknamed "Glorious Dick," who had been appointed a brigadier-general by President Lincoln, under the mistaken idea that it would conciliate the New York Democracy. He was utterly ignorant of the military profession, and he was given a first-class "inspection by company" of the Twenty-second, but in such a way that he did not observe the absence of half of the regiment. The manner in which this was done was afterwards described in the following article written by the author, then a member of Company A. This was



modeled upon the "New Gospel of Peace," a patriotic and semi-political burlesque pamphlet which at that time was having a great run :

### A "GALORIOUS" REVIEW.

AN EPISTLE TO FATHER ABRAHAM—SHOWING HOW A RECENT REVIEW  
OF YE GALLANT WARRIORS OF YE TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT  
WAS CONDUCTED BY BRIGADIER GALORIOUS DICK.

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1. Now, it came to pass that there abode in the city which is called Gotham a mighty man of war, fierce in aspect and terrible to behold.

2. Now, this mighty man of war was called Dick, but, from his many valiant deeds in fight, had been surnamed the "Galorious," wherefore the rulers of the people, perceiving the fierceness of his countenance and the loudness of his voice, took counsel together, and said among themselves: "Behold, now we have found the man to lead the people in battle." And they rejoiced greatly, and straightway established him to be a brigadier over the armies thereof.

3. Now, on a certain day, when the mighty man of war had heard that a certain regiment had mustered their fighting men, and pitched their tents in the plain that is called East New York, to guard the other men of war encamped therein, he said unto himself :

4. "Behold, I will go down and blow my trumpet before these fighting men, and will exhibit unto them the gorgeousness of my apparel, that they may see how mighty I am, and how truly I am surnamed 'the Galorious.' "

5. So this mighty man of war rose up, burnished his shoulder-straps, and rode upon his chariot; and when he came to the plain that is called East New York, he straightway summoned unto him the leader, that is called the colonel, of the fighting men that were encamped therein, and said unto him, with a loud voice and with a fierce countenance:

6. "Bring up now before me the fighting men that have pitched their tents around about, that I may count the noses



thereof, and may sound my trumpet before them, and astonish them with the splendor of my apparel."

7. Then the colonel was troubled, and said within himself: "How can I do this thing? Behold, the half of the fighting men are now on guard, and the other half have gone where the Lord only knoweth; but, verily, many thereof are even yet at the house of the man that is called 'John I.'\* Yet must I satisfy the desires of this man of war, that he may depart in peace?"

8. Now, the colonel had been in the service; yea, he had led his fighting men even unto the soil that is called sacred, and his head was very clear, and his devices not a few. So he sent and summoned unto him the captains of the fifties and the sergeants thereof, and said unto them:

9. "Go now into the streets of the camp, and take unto yourselves all the fighting men that may be found therein, and count the number thereof, and come again and tell me." And they went, and did as he had commanded.

10. And the colonel said unto them: "How many men have ye?"

11. And they answered and said: "Three score and twelve."

12. Then the colonel said: "Take now thirty-five men thereof, and let them stand in the street of the camp that is called A Street; and when it shall come to pass that the mighty man of war, surnamed 'the Galorious,' shall ask the name of the company, that he may count the noses thereof, and blow his trumpet before you, then shall ye salute him and say: 'This is the company that is called A.'

13. "And when the man of war shall have finished the counting of the noses and the blowing of his trumpet, then shall ye flee away over unto the street that is called D Street; and shall stand there, in like manner, only that the men who were in the front rank before shall be in the rear rank now. So shall ye do in all the streets of the camp, even in the nine companies thereof."

14. And the captains of the fifties and the sergeants did as

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\* John I. Snedeker's, then a celebrated road-house, at East New York.



they were commanded. And it came to pass that when the mighty man of war went into the street which is called A Street, and saw the company standing therein and counted the noses thereof, he rejoiced greatly within himself, and blew his trumpet unto them, with a loud noise, saying:

15. "Behold the gorgeousness of my apparel, and the fierceness of my countenance: Am I not a great man of war, and fitly surnamed the Galorious?" And he stroked his beard, and swaggared before them muchly.

16. And it fell out that when he had finished the blowing of his trumpet, that the fighting men dispersed, and went and stood in the street that is called D Street even as the colonel had commanded, and the mighty man of war came unto them, and counted the noses thereof yet the second time, and blew his trumpet, saying the same words, and spreading himself before them as he had done previously. So did he do in all the streets of the camp, even the whole nine thereof.

17. Now the fighting men, when they beheld this man of war counting their noses, and blowing his trumpet, and swelling before them, waxed exceedingly wroth, and said to one another: "Whence is this man, and what hath he to do with us, seeing that he belongeth to the volunteers, and we to the State troops? Have we served in the sacred soil for three months without profit, that such a brigadier as this should seek to cast dust in our eyes?" And they laughed him to scorn.

18. Now it came to pass that when this mighty man of war had made an end of the counting of the noses and of the blowing of his trumpet, he lifted up his eyes, and behold of the five hundred fighting men whose noses he had counted, only seventy-two thereof were to be found, and he was sore amazed, and said within himself: "Truly, I have fallen into the hands of the Philistines, and they have sold me." And he rent his breeches, and cast cigar ashes on his beard.

19. Then this mighty man of war returned, and took counsel with himself how he should escape the scorner, saying: "Verily, I must cut a dash, that is called a splurge, in the eyes of men, that they may not forget that I am surnamed the Galorious."





20. Then he straightway sent a letter to the paper that is called the *Tribune*, blowing his trumpet very loudly therein and, blessing Abraham Lincoln. And when he had made an end thereof, he rejoiced greatly, and said within himself:

21. "Bully for me who am fitly surnamed the Galorious, who shall stand before me? Behold the Philistines are come to naught in the world!" And he polished his shoulder-straps, and blew his trumpet in peace.





STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

CHAPTER XI.

A NEW COLONEL AND A REGIMENTAL ARMORY.

ON October 28, 1862, an election was had for colonel in the Twenty-second. The feeling which had once existed against Col. Aspinwall in the regiment had become dissipated and he was elected without opposition, and proved a most competent and popular officer. Maj. J. H. Grant was elected lieutenant-colonel and Capt. Jas. F. Cox (D Co.), major.

The annual inspection of the Twenty-second took place October 31, 1862, at East New York.\* The attendance was meagre. So much time had been given by the officers and



COL. LLOYD ASPINWALL.

men to military service during the summer that many found it impossible to leave their business to parade for

\* See table of strength at inspections, page 608, 609, post.



inspection, an occasion which had not in those days the importance which now attaches to it. In addition, the uniforms of many of the members had been worn out and new ones had not yet been procured. Out of 612 officers and men, there were present but 348, absent 264.

The inspecting officer states in his report that this was owing to a misapprehension, as those absent supposed their presence without uniforms would not be recognized. He further states "what the regiment lacked in numbers they made up in efficiency, as every movement was executed with precision and promptness, exhibiting great familiarity on the part of its officers with their respective duties." The strength of the Twenty-second on inspection in this year was about the same as that of the other regiments which had been in active service, the Eighth having present at its inspection 360; the Ninth, 142; the Twelfth, 312; the Thirteenth, 374, and the Thirty-seventh, 252. The Seventh having only served in Baltimore, where it had been in barracks at Fort Federal Hill, had not experienced as much hard service and its uniforms were uninjured, and inspected 906.

Shortly after his election, Col. Aspinwall obtained leave of absence. He then visited the Army of the Potomac and served upon the staff of Gen. Burnside at the battle of Fredericksburg in November, 1862, acquiring an experience which was very profitable to the regiment in the following year. During his absence, Lt.-Col. J. Henderson Grant was in command. He resigned May 25, 1863, and Major Cox took command of the regiment which he held until Col. Aspinwall resumed command on June 1, 1863.



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

History of the Twenty-Second Regiment

139

During the remainder of 1862, and the spring of 1863, the Twenty-second pursued the even tenor of its way, being always ready for a sudden call into service.

On January 7, 1863, it was filled up to ten companies by the organization of Co. K, formerly known as the "Lindsey Blues" under Capt. E. A. Roberts.

In the same month the regiment sold to the State for \$7,134.76 the Enfield rifles with which it was armed and which were its private property and then had them reissued to it as State property, a financial operation that was of great assistance to its treasury. This was perfectly proper, as there was no reason why the Twenty-second should provide its own arms while all other National Guard organizations received theirs from the State.



ARMORY IN FOURTEENTH STREET IN THE BLIZZARD OF 1888.





Since March, 1862, the Twenty-second had been endeavoring to secure from the authorities some kind of a regimental armory in which its scattered companies could be gathered under one roof, and an opportunity be afforded for battalion drill. All it asked was that the county would pay \$4,000 a year for ground rent of the land it needed besides the taxes, as it proposed to build and furnish the armory itself. Finally in February, 1863, the Board of Supervisors were induced to pass a resolution agreeing to do this. To the horror of the regiment this most reasonable resolution was vetoed by the mayor. The regiment was able, however, to secure sufficient votes to pass it over the veto, and in April, 1863, the grounds constituting what was then known as the "Palace Garden," on Fourteenth Street, just west of Sixth Avenue, were leased by the county for the use of the Twenty-second. These had been once used as a concert garden and consisted of a building some fifty feet wide on Fourteenth Street and running through to Fifteenth Street, with an arched roof and a small gallery at the south end, (being the building which was afterwards used as a regimental gymnasium) and some vacant lots on the Sixth Avenue side. The regiment contracted, at its own expense, for the construction on the Fourteenth Street front of a two story building with a tower in the centre, which was used for company rooms and regimental headquarters. This cost \$20,000, which was raised by the regiment by issuing its bonds. The rooms in the new armory were fitted up by the different companies and the board of officers at their own expense, at a cost of from \$3,000 to \$5,000 each,



Col. Aspinwall loaning to the officers a magnificent set of massive ebony furniture of Chinese manufacture, which the board of officers used for many years. As there were no means of lighting the open lots, and their surface was uneven, all drills were had in the old building. This was only large enough for company drills, but afforded more space for them than ever had been had before. Other drills were had in the arsenal at Thirty-fifth Street and Seventh Avenue. The drill nights for the different companies were fixed as follows: Monday, B and G; Tuesday, D and F; Wednesday, C and E; Thursday, A and H; Friday, I and K.

The first meeting of the Board of Officers in the new armory took place on May 5, 1863, the administration building being then unfinished. At this meeting the former regimental designation "Union Grays" was by resolution discontinued and the gray uniforms formally abandoned, never to be resumed.\*

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\* See Chapter XXXVI., Uniforms, page 375 post.





## CHAPTER XII.

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### ORDERED TO PENNSYLVANIA.

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WITH the opening of spring the war clouds again began to lower. Hooker was defeated at Chancellorsville, on May 3, 1863, and on June 3, Lee moved forward to invade the North. In the meantime, the members of the Twenty-second, many of them recruits, but the majority seasoned veterans, recognizing the certainty that their services would be again required, were "breaking in" their marching shoes and getting their affairs in order for the call for active service which all saw was inevitable.

On June 15, 1863, came the President's appeal for the aid of the militia of the loyal States, and the following letter from Secretary of War Stanton to the Governor of New York : \*

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1863.

To His Excellency Governor SEYMOUR :

The movements of the rebel forces in Virginia are now sufficiently developed to show that Gen. Lee, with his whole army, is moving forward to invade the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania and other States. The President, to repel this invasion promptly, has called upon Ohio, Pennsylvania, Mary-

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\* The following correspondence is taken from the annual report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York for 1863.



land and Western Virginia for one hundred thousand (100,000) militia for six months, unless sooner discharged. It is important to have the largest possible force in the least time; and, if other States would furnish militia for a short term, to be credited on the draft, it would greatly advance the object.

Will you please inform me immediately if, in answer to a special call from the President, you can forward, say, twenty thousand militia, as volunteers, without bounty, to be credited on the draft of your State, or what number you can possibly raise?

(Signed)

E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

Gov. Seymour, with characteristic promptness, responded the same day as follows:

ALBANY, June 15, 1863.

To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington.

I will spare no efforts to send you troops at once. I have sent orders to the militia officers of the State.

(Signed)

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

In answer to the foregoing, a telegram was received the same night, as follows:

To Governor SEYMOUR:

The President directs me to return his thanks, with those of the Department, for your prompt response. A strong movement of your city regiments to Philadelphia would be very encouraging, will do great good, and give strength in that State. The call should be for six months, unless sooner discharged, in order to comply with the law. It is not likely that more than thirty days' service—perhaps not so long—would be required. Can you forward your city regiments speedily?

(Signed)

E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

On the same night Gov. Seymour telegraphed as follows:

I will order the New York and Brooklyn troops to Philadelphia at once. Where can they get arms if they are needed?





The following telegram was received by Gov. Seymour from the Governor of Pennsylvania:

To His Excellency Governor SEYMOUR:

I am in receipt of a message from the War Department stating that you are preparing troops to aid in defending the borders. The enemy is now in Cumberland Valley, in large force. The danger is imminent. Allow me to urge the forwarding of all troops to Harrisburg without delay.

(Signed) A. G. CURTIN, *Governor of Pennsylvania.*

To which he replied by telegram as follows:

ALBANY, June 16, 1863.

To Governor CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pa.:

I am pushing forward troops as fast as possible. Regiments leave New York to-night. All will be ordered to report to Gen. Couch.

(Signed) HORATIO SEYMOUR.

The following despatch was also sent to the Secretary of War by the Adjutant-General:

ALBANY, June 16, 1863.

To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

The Governor wishes that directions be given to Col. Vinton to issue clothing and camp equipage to the quartermaster-general for the militia regiments now assembling for service in the field. The regiments will move in twenty-four (24) hours. Subsistence and transportation will also be needed.

(Signed) JOHN T. SPRAGUE, *Adjutant General.*

The Secretary of War replied:

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.

To Adjutant-General SPRAGUE:

The Quartermaster-General has made provision for the clothing and equipment of the troops that may go to Pennsylvania, the issues to be made at Harrisburg. You can make requisition for subsistence and transportation, as heretofore, for troops forwarded from your State.

(Signed) E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*



The orders issued for the movements of the New York troops had been issued and obeyed with such promptness that on June 16, 1863, the Adjutant-General was enabled to send the following telegram:

ALBANY, June 16, 1863.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

About twelve thousand (12,000) men are now on the move for Harrisburg, in good spirits and well equipped. The Governor says: "Shall troops continue to be forwarded? Please answer. Nothing from Washington since my last telegram."

(Signed) JOHN T. SPRAGUE, *Adjutant-General*.

The Secretary of War answered:

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1863.

To Adjutant-General SPRAGUE:

The President directs me to return his thanks to His Excellency Governor Seymour and his staff, for their energetic and prompt action. Whether any other force is likely to be required will be communicated to you to-morrow, by which time it is expected the movements of the enemy will be more fully developed.

(Signed) E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*.

Again, on June 21, Secretary Stanton telegraphed as follows:

To Assistant Adjutant-General STONEHOUSE:

The President desires Governor Seymour to forward to Baltimore all the militia regiments he can raise.

(Signed) E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*.

The following list gives the dates of their departure, the numbers of the regiments, their commanders, and the strength of each, showing that twelve thousand and ninety-one (12,091) National Guardsmen were equipped and marched to the relief of Harrisburg, in ten (10) days, by the State of New York. The total number



sent between the fifteenth day of June and the third day of July was thirteen thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one (13,971): \*

REGI- MENTS.	COMMANDERS.	LOCATION.	DATE OF DEPART- URE.	ST'GTH
4th	Col. Daniel W. Teller.	New York City.	June 20	500
5th	" Louis Burger.	"	" 19	828
6th	" Joel W. Mason.	"	" 22	656
7th	" Marshall Lefferts.	"	" 17	650
8th	" Joshua M. Varian.	"	" 18	371
11th	" Joachim Maidhoff.	"	" 18	762
12th	" William G. Ward.	"	" 19	684
13th	" John B. Woodward.	Brooklyn.	" 20	496
17th	Lieut.-Col. John P. Jenkins.	White Plains.	July 3	400
18th	Col James Ryder.	South East.	" 3	400
21st	" Joseph Wright.	Poughkeepsie.	June 27	600
22nd	" Lloyd Aspinwall.	New York City.	" 19	568
23rd	" William Everdell, Jr.	Brooklyn.	" 18	626
28th	" Michael Bennett.	"	" 20	484
37th	" Charles Roome.	New York City.	" 19	693
47th	" Jeremiah V. Meserole.	Brooklyn.	" 26	400
52nd	" Mathias W. Cole.	"	" 22	351
55th	" Eugene Le Gal.	New York City.	" 24	350
56th	" David M. Talmadge.	Brooklyn.	" 20	476
65th	" Jacob Krettner.	Buffalo.	" 19	555
67th	" Chauncey Abbott.	East Hamburg.	" 23	400
68th	" David S. Forbes.	Fredonia.	" 24	400
69th	" James Bagley.	New York City.	" 22	600
71st	" Benjamin L. Trafford.	"	" 18	737
74th	" Watson A. Fox.	Buffalo.	" 19	504
84th	" Frederick A. Conkling.	New York City.	July 3	480
				13,971

In addition to this force, various detachments of volunteers, which were scattered throughout the State, were organized, equipped, and ordered forthwith to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. This additional force com-

\* In a letter of Secretary Stanton to the chairman of the Union League of Philadelphia, July 2, 1863, he says: "The department addressed a communication to the governors of all the loyal States, requesting them to forward any troops or militia at their disposal. From their answers it appeared that none but New York had any military organization effective for raising troops in a short period."



prised 1,827 men. The emergency continuing, (the invaders having penetrated to within 125 miles of Elmira), troops continued to be called for and to be supplied, as will be seen by the following :

HARRISBURG, July 2, 1863

To His Excellency Gov. SEYMOUR:

Send forward more troops as rapidly as possible; every hour increases the necessity for large forces to protect Pennsylvania. The battles of yesterday were not decisive, and if Meade should be defeated, unless we have a large army, the State will be overrun by the rebels:

(Signed)

A. G. CURTIN,

*Governor of Pennsylvania.*

This telegram was transmitted by the adjutant-general to Gov. Seymour while in New Jersey, who replied by telegram as follows:

BRUNSWICK, N. J., July 2, 12 P. M.

Send forward more troops to the relief of Pennsylvania.

Adj.-Gen. Sprague replied as follows:

ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL, Midnight, July 2, 1863.

Telegram just received. Conkling's regiment will go to-morrow night, the Tenth (Benedix) Monday. I have directed the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Regiments to go. I will see Gen. Sanford to-night.

At the same time he telegraphed Gen. Curtin:

To His Excellency A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

Your telegram is received. Troops will continued to be sent. One regiment leaves to-night, another to-morrow; all in good spirits.

(Signed)

JOHN T. SPRAGUE, *Adjutant-General.*

Gen. Couch states in his report: "The Governor of New York pushed forward his regiments with alacrity. They were generally armed and equipped, ready for field service, and their arrival brought confidence."





## CHAPTER XIII.

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### ORDERED TO PENNSYLVANIA.

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ON June 17, 1863, formal orders were promulgated, directing the Twenty-second and other New York and Brooklyn National Guard organizations to be ready to march "as soon as requisitions were filled." All day long, blue and gray uniforms were dashing frantically backward and forward through the streets, and in and out of the various armories, in search of essentials found missing at the last moment; and in military circles the flurry and commotion were indescribable. The necessary supplies were delivered to the Twenty-second on June 18, and orders were at once issued for the regiment to form at 4 P. M. on that day. Punctually at the appointed hour, the Twenty-second, 568 strong,\* assembled in its incomplete regimental armory, and, bidding a last "good-bye" to throngs of friends, formed line for its second campaign, but with grave faces, for the pomp and glitter of warfare had been dulled by experience, and all knew that they were entering upon a most serious undertaking.

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\* Only 100 less than the Seventh.



At last the manifold preparations were completed, and, amid tumultuous cheering, the fluttering of handkerchiefs, the ringing of bells and the general bewildering roar of an enthusiastic crowd, tempered by the tears of many mothers, wives and sisters, the regiment swung into column, and marched down Broadway to the Camden and Amboy steamer. From there it was transferred into cattle-cars, and the next morning found it at Philadelphia, where, as in the previous year, its members were "fed and washed" at the immortal "Cooper Shop."

A long march, in a mild drizzle, through five or six miles of streets, lined by an enthusiastic and patriotic community, but paved with painfully irregular cobblestones, then took place. During the march, the regiment was reviewed by Maj.-Gen. Charles W. Sandford, commanding the First Division N. G. S. N. Y. The impression among the officers and men created by the appearance upon the reviewing stand of his rosy face and venerable white beard was the reverse of pleasant. This was deepened by the recognition, of the familiar forms of several of the New York brigade commanders beside him. The question ran from man to man, "What are they doing here?" "Is it possible that they are to be put in command?" Yet this was what was to take place, and was the beginning of a serious error upon the part of the authorities.

The National Guard of New York was in 1863, a very different organization from what it is at the time of this writing (1895). Although having a population of but 4,000,000, the State maintained a militia consisting of 8 divisions, 32 brigades and eighty-five regiments, 1 battalion and 1 battery, with a paper strength of



31,500 men. Besides these there were 20 new organizations amounting to 7,013 men.\*

With the exception of the Seventh which served but thirty days in 1861, the older organizations had served in the field for three months in each of the two preceding years and although their personnel had been greatly changed by the enlistment of many of their officers and men in the volunteers, the inability of some to get away and the filling of their places by recruits, the majority of the officers and men were soldiers and the new men soon learned their duties from their associates. But the experience that had been acquired by the regiments did not extend to their division and brigade commanders. Maj.-Gen. Sandford had held his commission since 1837, Brig.-Gen. Hall since 1844, Brig.-Gen. Ewen since 1847, and Brig.-Gen. Spicer since 1850. During this period their duties had been confined to street parades, with the occasional exception of perhaps an annual brigade drill, when the brigade commander had his orders carefully written out, and put on his spectacles to read them. There were no reports, no inspections and no discipline outside that maintained by the regiments themselves.† When a parade was had of the First Division, the companies were ordered to report at 7 A. M., regimental line was ordered to be formed at 8, brigade line at 9,

\* In 1835, with a population of over 6,000,000, New York has a National Guard of 12,006, divided into four brigades, eleven regiments, three battalions, and forty-five separate companies, five batteries, 1 troop of cavalry, and three signal corps.

† None of the regimental commanders of the First Division made any report of the 1863 campaign, or if they did, they were not transmitted to Headquarters, so as to appear in the reports of the adjutant-general, which has added greatly to the difficulties of writing this history.



and the division at 10. A delay of an hour in each case was customary. When the division was finally formed, it was in a line stretching from Twenty-third Street to Fourteenth and thence west to the Hudson River, and thence to Twenty-third Street, the formation taking place about 11.30. Gen. Sandford accompanied by his staff would then walk his horse down the whole line and then back to the head of the column, so that it would be one o'clock before the procession moved. His other methods as a division commander were of a similar un-military character, and the general idea of his military qualifications was cleverly shown in the accompanying cartoon by Thomas Nast. While these generals were gentlemen of high standing and character they were utterly destitute of either the military knowledge or experience necessary to command troops in the field and were too old to learn. They did not know how to march, feed or fight their men. Above all, they had not the slightest idea of discipline or of its enforcement. What was worse, was that the troops themselves knew their defects perfectly



MAJ.-GEN. CHAS. W. SANDFORD.

*Commanding First Division, N. G. S. N. Y.*

"I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."





well, and consequently had neither respect for nor confidence in their generals, to whose authority they paid an unwilling obedience.

The following telegrams contained in the Rebellion Records explain how the War Department was induced to make the error of allowing these inexperienced and incompetent officers to assume command. They also show how conceit can blind an officer to his own deficiencies. The idea that the regiments desired to serve under "their own general officers" is refreshing in its absurdity.

Gen. C. W. Sanford to Secretary Stanton:

NEW YORK, June 16, 1863.

Four of our regiments go to-morrow; eight more the next day. They urge in the strongest manner the request that they may go and be commanded by their own general officers, subject, of course, to the commanding officers of corps and departments. They will go stronger if this request is complied with.

Gen. Hallock to Gen. Sanford:

WASHINGTON, June 27, 1863.

I am directed by the Secretary of War \* \* \* to say that each case will be decided as it arises, when a brigade is ready, you naming the brigade and brigade commander.

Gen. Sanford to Secretary Stanton:

NEW YORK, June 18, 1863.

I have detailed Brig.-Gen. Ewen of my division to proceed to Harrisburg with his brigade to-morrow. \* \* \*

Please send me a telegram to authorize the United States mustering officers at Harrisburg to muster in these troops with their brigadiers, etc., as detailed by me. \* \* \*

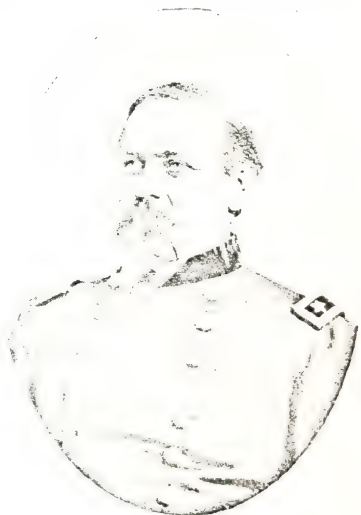


Gen. Sandford to Secretary Stanton :

NEW YORK, June 27, 1863.

Twelve regiments of my division are now at Harrisburg and Baltimore. Another will leave on Monday. I propose to go to Harrisburg and take command of them. If you approve of this, please send me a telegram directing the mustering officer at Harrisburg to muster myself and staff in from the 16th inst.

The authorities soon ascertained Gen. Sandford's unfitness, and he did not figure in the Pennsylvania campaign. Brig.-Gen. Ewen, however, retained command of the brigade (the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh Regiments) throughout. Considering his want of previous experience, he did better than could have been expected. He was brave under fire and wise enough to follow the suggestions of those of his subordinates who knew what should be done. But in many ways, he was not equal to the situation, and his command detested him, in many instances, perhaps for matters for which he was not responsible. Gen. W. F. (Baldy) Smith, the division commander, soon ignored him, and issued his orders direct to the regimental commanders, which is the best proof of his (Smith's) opinion of his inefficiency.



GEN. W. F. (BALDY) SMITH.



The following is a roster of the officers of the Twenty-second who served in the Pennsylvania campaign : \*

FIELD, STAFF AND NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Colonel, Lloyd Aspinwall.

Lieutenant-Colonel, James F. Cox (*elected in the field*).

Major, James Otis (*elected in the field*).

Adjutant, William J. A. McGrath.

Quartermaster, Jotham W. Post.

Surgeon, Benjamin M. D. Lee.

Assistant Surgeon, W. H. B. Post.

Commissary, John C. Thompson.

Assistant Surgeon, Edward H. Sexton.

Sergeant-Major, Charles Walker.

Quartermaster Sergeant, Charles S. Bunker.

Ordnance Sergeant, Eliha Adams.

Commissary Sergeant, George L. Breck.

Hospital Steward, Charles Wood.

Sergeant Standard-Bearer, George V. W. House.

Sergeant Standard-Bearer, Thomas H. Senior.

Drum-Major, George Bruce.

COMPANY OFFICERS.

A—Captain, James Otis (*elected major in the field*).

Captain, George Fuller (*elected in the field*).

First Lieutenant, Lindley M. Franklin (*elected in the field*).

Second Lieutenant, vacant (*after Lieut. Franklin's promotion*.)

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\* A copy of the muster out roll of this regiment in this campaign, giving the names of all officers and men, is printed in the appendix at page 637, post.



- B—Captain, William W. Remmy (*elected in the field*).  
First Lieutenant, Aaron C. Allan (*resigned*).  
First Lieutenant, John T. Camp (*elected in the field*).  
Second Lieutenant, vacant (*after Lieut. Camp's promotion*.)
- C—Captain, George B. Post.  
First Lieutenant (*vacant*).  
Second Lieutenant, John H. Palmer.
- D—Captain, Thomas L. Thornell.  
First Lieutenant, Joseph T. Baldwin.  
Second Lieutenant, Isaac Smith.
- E—Captain, John N. Wilsey.  
First Lieutenant, William H. Hoyt.  
Second Lieutenant, George W. Davis.
- F—Captain, Alfred N. Francis.  
First Lieutenant, Thomas Laurence.  
Second Lieutenant, George J. Clan Ranald.
- G—Captain, Henry E. Howland.  
First Lieutenant, William C. Soutter.  
Second Lieutenant, (*vacant*).
- H—Captain, R. Suydam Grant.  
First Lieutenant, Walter Edwards (*appointed ordnance officer on Gen. Ewen's staff*).  
Second Lieutenant, William Man.
- I—Captain, Asa B. Gardner.  
First Lieutenant (*vacant*).  
Second Lieutenant, Joseph P. Goodliff (*elected in the field*).
- K—Captain, Edgar A. Roberts.  
First Lieutenant, Thomas Price.  
Second Lieutenant, Henry T. White.





The following was the strength of the regiment:

	OFFICERS.	NON-COMM'D OFFICERS.	PRIVATE.	TOTAL.
Field and staff.....	9	..	..	9
Non-comm'd staff....	..	8	..	8
A Company.....	3	9	47	59
B    "       .....	3	10	75	88
C    "       .....	2	9	53	64
D    "       .....	3	10	39	52
E    "       .....	3	10	41	54
F    "       .....	3	8	47	58
G    "       .....	2	9	58	69
H    "       .....	2	9	31	42
I    "       .....	2	10	45	57
K    "       .....	3	8	29	40
Band.....	..	..	..	30
Total.....				630

Arriving at the railroad, on the afternoon of June 18, 1863, the regiment was loaded into box-cars and started for Harrisburg. The distance from Philadelphia to that city is not great, but the road was blocked by the unusual traffic of war, and the heavy troop trains travelled so slowly, that it was not until June 20, that the Twenty-second reached Harrisburg.\* The men were in baggage-cars where there was sufficient room to give them liberty of movement, so that the trip was far less disagreeable than the ride in ordinary coaches would have been. As the train passed along, the people of the villages and farm-houses, particularly the women, would throng to the track to cheer the troops. Frequently the railroad was completely fringed with girls,

\* Yet the Twenty-third, which left Brooklyn on the morning of the 18, arrived at Harrisburg at daybreak on the 19, and was in the fortifications at Bridgeport that afternoon.



very pretty ones, too, all wild with enthusiasm. Once when the train was crawling up a steep grade, a bevy of five country beauties gathered along the fence, waving their handkerchiefs and kissing their hands to the troops. Suddenly, a man of the Twenty-second leaped from the moving train, rushed over to the girls, kissed the whole five in rapid succession before they had a chance to think, and darted back to his train, into which he was hauled by his admiring companions, while the whole brigade burst into applause at his enterprise and grasp of the situation.





## CHAPTER XIV.

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### HARRISBURG.

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ON arriving at Harrisburg, the train went on a siding adjoining "Camp Curtin," the great organizing camp of Pennsylvania, and detachments from the Twenty-second started out to forage. They soon returned with chickens, vegetables, etc., for all of which they had been charged stiff prices, which they sometimes paid and occasionally, it is to be feared, did not. Camp Curtin was filled by the newly raised "emergency men" who had been called out by Gov. Curtin's patriotic proclamations. They were mostly men from different parts of the rural or mining districts, without uniforms or officers and destitute of the slightest military training. Consequently, they seemed to the eyes of the Twenty-second to be a slovenly and uncouth mob rather than soldiers. Many of them appeared to be already demoralized, and openly stated that they were "going home." Whether from jealousy or some other cause, they were not at all cordial to the "Yorkers." Party spirit, in those days, ran high, and many men expressed sentiments against the management of the War who fought bravely in it. Much of the talk in regard to the War that was heard from the natives in



this portion of Pennsylvania grated upon the ears of those who had left their own homes to defend the State from invasion, and they resented it as well as the jeers with which they were greeted by the newly raised Pennsylvania organizations.

At some distance from Camp Curtin the Twenty-second met some regular militia organizations from Philadelphia, whose soldierly appearance impressed them with a feeling of respect, which subsequent acquaintance did not dispel. These had built little shelters like dog-kennels, out of boards which they had covered with rubber blankets, and thus made themselves quite comfortable.

Among these was "Landis' Philadelphia Battery" which subsequently formed a part of Gen. Ewen's brigade, to the guns of which the Twenty-second was frequently to look for protection, and were often to aid in hauling up many a steep and muddy road. This battery was essentially an American product, impossible in any other country or in any other circumstances. It had been hurriedly formed in Philadelphia by uniting Company A, First Artillery, Pa. N. G. with Company C, Capt. J. N. Beddle. These organizations had been formed for some time, and had had a little drilling in the manual of the piece, but had no experience with horses and never had fired a gun. The ranks of the new battery were filled by recruits who stood high socially, but knew nothing of military drill. The battery was largely composed of lawyers and prided itself at all times that if it was not up to the regular standard in other respects, it was "great on papers." Henry D. Landis was elected captain and Samuel C. Perkins, since a prominent lawyer of Philadelphia,





and president of its Board of Public Works, first lieutenant. R. W. Gilder, since the editor of *The Century*, was a private, as was Charles S. Leland (Hans Breitman).



CAPT. H. D. LANDIS.      LIEUT. S. C. PERKINS.  
OF LANDIS' BATTERY.

They were uniformed with a high drab felt slouch hat, army blouse and drab trousers. Each man also provided himself with a copy of artillery tactics and proceeded to saturate himself with it. So successfully was this done that in a few days the theoretical parts of the duty were pretty well acquired.

Upon its arrival at Harrisburg, this battery was put into Fort Washington and set at work drilling at the guns.

One afternoon an officer rode up and inquired for Capt. Landis. The latter stepped up and saluted. "Capt. Landis, here is your battery, send a section with Gen. Ewen immediately." Mounting the horses, guns and caissons in accordance with what they could remember of the tactics, the section started at once. The next day it was followed by the rest of the battery.



For reasons which will be stated later, the battery did not unharness for two days. When it came to do so, the question arose, how was it to be done, particularly by worn out men, at a late hour on a dark night? The Gordian knot was cut by the order, "Try all the buckles and unbuckle those that work easiest." Unfortunately, the harness was new and one buckle was no easier than another. The result was that while the horses were eventually released, the harness was in so many different parts that application had to be made in the morning for an instructor to explain how to get it together.



R. W. GILDER.

The battery as it left Fort Washington consisted of six 3-inch rifled guns (10 pounders) and five caissons, one caisson being left in the fort on account of the want of horses. There was no picket rope, no blankets, forage bags, whips, spurs, curry-combs, or anything necessary for the care and comfort of the horses and drivers. No battery-wagon, forge or blacksmith was attached to the command, though many of the horses wanted shoes and re-shoeing. The guns also were deficient in equipment; there was but one prolonge and two worms in the whole battery, while buckets, spare poles, shovels, axes, etc., were in many cases wanting. The supply of ammunition also was short. Requisitions for a full and complete equipment had been made, but



up to the hour of starting the needful articles were lacking. This, it will be remembered, was in the second year of a great war.

In addition to this the sergeants were not mounted; one pair of horses could not be used on account of a mistake in the harness and another pair had to be led, as they were so balky as to be useless. The battery, therefore, did not start very well equipped. Yet with the exception of Miller's battery (which was worse off) it was the only artillery General Smith had.

Considerable difficulty was experienced at first starting as both drivers and horses were green and did not work well together. But after the first mile was passed over everything went on smoothly. So the battery proceeded, learning its duties by doing them and being instructed every night by Lieut. Rufus King, of the Fourth Artillery, U. S. A., however arduous the march. Of course, it was not up to a high standard, yet it was able, by the pluck and intelligence of its men, to do with credit, everything that it was called upon to do.

Candor requires the statement that almost all the other Pennsylvania troops, and some of those from New York State, were of little value in the field. War is a trade, and hasty levies, undrilled and undisciplined, commanded by inexperienced officers, in whom they had no confidence, could not, except behind breastworks, be relied upon to efficiently oppose the largely superior force of Lee's veterans that were in their front. The men composing the new regiments were plucky and confident—more so, perhaps, than more experienced troops would have been under the circumstances. But they were destitute of discipline, and without that confidence in



each other which makes effective troops. The great difficulty, of course, was with their officers. The duties which a soldier has to perform in service are often extremely disagreeable, as well as dangerous. Yet, they must be done, and done without hesitation. The habit of command by the officer, and of obedience by the soldier, which insures their being thus performed, cannot be acquired at once, and yet it is indispensable to a military organization.

Where it has to be created, as in the case of hasty levies like those of Pennsylvania, the force, however patriotic, is of little military value when pitted against experienced troops.

Those orators and editors who point to the lessons of our Civil War as demonstrating the ability of the United States to raise, by a call for volunteers, an army which will be able to defy an invading force of any strength, would do well to study the history of the attempt of Pennsylvania to defend herself. This, too, it must be remembered, was in the second year of the War, when all in authority had learned by experience, how troops should be organized and handled. Yet, Pennsylvania did as well, and perhaps better, than any other northern State would have done.

It is a mystery to those who were on the spot, and are familiar with the inside history of this campaign, why Lee did not strike a blow at Harrisburg. If he had, it would have been impossible for the force which was defending it to have stopped him, and his path to Philadelphia would have been clear. The show of strength they made was, however, sufficient to hold his advance in check until the progress of the Army of the





Potomac obliged his army to be concentrated at Gettysburg, and thus the State was saved.\*

This want of discipline in the command assembled at Harrisburg was constantly interfering with its movements. Regiments ordered to march at a certain hour were not ready. Details were not on hand as had been ordered, and as the good regiments could not move alone, all were delayed by those who were behindhand. This was largely done away with during the march across the State, for there is no school for war like war, but it greatly affected the efficiency of Gen. Smith's command. With good brigade officers, who would have been constantly with their regiments, urging them up to their work and supplying by precept and example what was deficient, the improvement would have been still greater. But such officers were conspicuous by their absence.

The following extract from the report (No. 406, Vol. 27, Rebellion Records, Series 1, Part, 2, p. 211) of Maj.-Gen. Darius N. Couch, U. S. Army, commanding Department of the Susquehanna, states the situation of affairs at Harrisburg when the Twenty-second arrived:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SUSQUEHANNA, }  
CHAMBERSEURG, Pa., July 15, 1863. }

SIR:—In obedience to instructions from the Honorable Secretary of War, I left Washington June 11, for Harrisburg, in order to assume command of the newly organized Department of the Susquehanna.

After an interview with His Excellency Gov. Curtin and gentlemen of his council, an order was prepared and issued to

\*See Confederate orders, page 190 post.



the department, calling for a corps of troops for State defence. This was in accordance with instructions received from Mr. Stanton.

The Governor also issued a proclamation to the people of the State in connection with my order.

\* \* \* \* \*

Comparatively few troops offered for State defence.

The President called for volunteers for six months' service, and Gov. Curtin issued his proclamation for 50,000 men. This was on the 15, and men in masses began to assemble at Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Huntington, Altoona, etc.

The militia of Pennsylvania was not organized. Farmers in the threatened parts were directed to remove their stock.

\* \* \* \* \*

Militia regiments from New York began to arrive. New Jersey sent one regiment for three days. Other companies from that State reported at Harrisburg.

\* \* \* \* \*

The New York militia were mustered into the United States service for thirty days. The Pennsylvanians generally declined to be mustered for six months. Finally, a portion consented to serve during "the existence of the emergency."

The heights on the right bank of the Susquehanna, opposite to Harrisburg, were being fortified in order to cover that city and the important bridges. Some of the patriotic citizens of that city volunteered to work in the trenches; others were paid. The colored population were not behind their white brethren in giving assistance.

The Twenty-second, by June 20, had become heartily tired of four days in the cars, and it was a great relief when, during the latter part of the afternoon of that day, they were sent across the Susquehanna to Bridgeport. Gen. Hall (N. G. S. N. Y.) was placed in command of the troops who were assembled at this point, to guard the railroad bridge to Harrisburg and the



neighboring approaches and fords. This force consisted of the Eleventh, Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh National Guard of New York City, and five regiments from Brooklyn, the latter under Brig.-Gens. Crooke and Jesse Smith. Some of these were stationed in the two forts on the Heights—Fort Washington and Fort Couch, the construction of which was being pushed by a large force of men.

The first appearance of the enemy had been at Chambersburg, sixteen miles north of the Maryland line, where 800 cavalry had appeared on June 15. These were closely watched by 120 First N. Y. Cavalry, under Capt. Boyd, who covered the retreat of Gen. Milroy's wagon-train to Harrisburg. At this time, Gen. Couch reported that there were not 250 organized men in the department for duty. President Lincoln and Gov. Curtin then issued their appeals, and masses of emergency-men hurried to arms at Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Huntington, Altoona, etc. On the 17, the New York troops began to arrive, and constituted almost the only organized troops under Gen. Couch's command. On the 19, the Eighth and Seventy-first were pushed out to Chambersburg, over the railroad.\*

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\* Gen. Couch states in his report: "The call of June 15 (for six-months' volunteers) brought only seven full regiments. The Governor obtained the sanction of the President, and called out 60,000 militia for State service. These rendezvoused at Harrisburg, Reading and Huntington. Up to this time, New York had sent nearly 6,000 men. Col. E. Franklyn, a citizen of Lancaster, had been placed in command of the bridges on the Lower Susquehanna, to Conowing, in Maryland, some of which were guarded by citizens partially armed with shotguns.

"Five thousand men of the counties bordering on the Juniata filled the passes leading to their homes, and threw up military works. They were an army of bushwhackers commanded by ex-officers. The militia of Pennsylvania raised to resist the invasion was composed of men from all classes



Much unfavorable comment was excited by the fact that while Pittsburgh had closed its great manufactories, to enable its citizens to work on its fortifications, and that 15,000 volunteers were at work upon them, the number of those who volunteered to work upon those of Harrisburg were very few. The officers and employees of the Pennsylvania and Northern and Central Railroads did their utmost. So did a few white and colored citizens. But most of those working upon the Harrisburg fortifications outside of the troops were paid men.

and professions, and was a fine body of men. New York sent nineteen regiments and one battery, commanded by the following brigadier-generals: Brig.-Gens. Hall, Yates, Ewen, Crooke and Smith. Pennsylvania furnished eight regiments of emergency-men, twenty-two regiments of three-months' militia, five companies of artillery, one battalion of six-months' infantry, two regiments and one battalion of six-months' cavalry and one battalion of three-months' cavalry.

"The three-months' men were generally organized between July 4 and 30, of the same month."







## CHAPTER XV.

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### IN CAMP ON THE SUSQUEHANNA.

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WHILE the Brooklyn regiments were hard at work on the forts, the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh were sent three-quarters of a mile down the river to a position upon the road from York, up which the enemy were advancing, Gen. Couch's plan being that they should check the advance upon this road, and, if hard pressed, retire into the forts, where a more effectual stand could be made.

It was growing dusky when the Twenty-second reached its station, and, in accordance with what proved to be a characteristic of the climate of Pennsylvania during that month, rain began to fall as the sun set, and by the time it was dark a heavy storm was raging. The regiment being without tents, it took possession of a neighboring barn. The barn was very large, but the regiment was 500 strong, and the men were wedged into it like sardines—so tight, in fact, that those who found themselves under one of the many leaks in the roof had to remain quiet under their “deuche,” and “take it coolly” for the night. The Eleventh and some of the other regiments were without either barn or tents, and slept in the woods all night as best they



could, without any protection whatever. In consequence, they were regarded the next day as suffering martyrs by the Twenty-second, the new men in which wondered how they could possibly have lived through the hardship. But a few days were, however, to elapse before the men who thus sympathized with those who were compelled to sleep in the rain without cover, found themselves doing that very thing, and regarding it as a mere matter of course, inconvenient, to be sure, but so commonplace as to be hardly worth mentioning.

Tents were delivered the next morning (June 21), and the Twenty-second established a regular camp, near the road, in the manner with which their experiences of the previous year had made them familiar. General orders were issued prescribing the camp routine, similar to those that had been issued at Harper's Ferry. The numerous recruits were instructed, and company and battalion drills were practiced. Strict orders were issued prohibiting cutting trees and all interference with private property. The discipline was strict, no officer was permitted to be absent for more than an hour without special permission, and some non-commissioned officers not present at retreat were at once reduced to the ranks. The weather was hot, and the routine soon became monotonous. On June 24, the regiment was sworn in for thirty days.

Although the roofs and spires of Harrisburg were in plain sight, there was but little desire to visit it. Its residents had not received the New Yorkers with the enthusiasm they had expected, and which they had received in Philadelphia. Besides, its storekeepers were unable to resist the temptation to make money out of



their defenders, and put up their prices to "all that the traffic would stand." Fifteen cents for a cup of rye coffee, five cents for a glass of water, exorbitant charges for anything that the soldiers wanted,\* and an apparent general indifference as to which side would be the victors in the impending contest, soon put an end to any rush for the few passes that were issued. In fact, the members of the regiment thought that the people around Harrisburg treated them no better than had been the case at Baltimore in the previous year. The only accounts that could be had of what was taking place were what were found in the New York newspapers that were received. These appeared to the regiment to give a more sensational account of the dangers of its position, and of the uprising of Pennsylvania, than its members thought was really the case, and they were inclined to jeer at them. Yet a retrospective consideration of the actual situation, as shown by the Comte de Paris and an examination of the official reports, proves that the newspapers knew more about the matter than did those who were actually guarding the Susquehanna. As a matter of fact, Stuart was raiding up from Maryland, Early was at York and Lee was at Chambersburg, pressing his army towards Harrisburg, whose capture would break up an important railroad centre, and be a heavy blow to the North. All turned upon the then doubtful question of whether the Army of the Potomac could

\*The Tribune correspondent wrote: "The most of them regard us as fair subjects for speculation. From the shopkeepers of Harrisburg to the border it was the same. Sixty-two cents for a pair of common cotton socks (worth perhaps twenty-five cents), and that in the capital of such a State as Pennsylvania; fifty cents for a loaf of bread, 5 cents a piece for eggs, twenty-five cents for a pie about four inches square, and other things in proportion." Tribune Letter, July 14, 1865.



intercept him, and would succeed if it did. Gen. Meade was looking to Couch's command to hold the river until he could overtake Lee (see Meade's report, *infra* page 255), but Couch's ability to do so was very doubtful. The anxiety at headquarters is shown by the following telegrams:

Gen. Couch to Secretary Stanton :

HARRISBURG, June 22, 1863.

In case the rebels advance in large force I believe we can prevent them from crossing. \* \* \* You will readily understand what kind of a force I have when a few regiments, with a sprinkling of nine months' men in them, are the veterans. The New York troops look well, but are without much confidence in themselves. My little artillery is all raw; my cavalry the same.

Gen. Couch to Gen. Hallock :

HARRISBURG, June 25, 1863.

I have nothing reliable as to rebel infantry in the valley to-day. Their cavalry advance is within five miles of Carlisle. \* \* \* Most of the men that rushed to arms at Altoona and South are rushing home.

Gen. Couch to President Lincoln :

HARRISBURG, Pa., June 25, 1863.

They have not up to this time made any show of attack in force. They have been burning bridges on the Northern Central road. I may have lost 400 men in the vicinity of York and Gettysburg. Probably 15,000 men within a short distance of my front.

Gen. Wm. F. Smith to Gen. Couch :

BRIDGEPORT, June 28, 1863.

It is reported that the rebels are moving to the right, which would bring their attack here near the bridges. \* \* \* I hardly think there will be much fighting to-day.





Same to same. Same date :

I have made all the dispositions I can here. I am weak above and below the bridges, and could find use for two more regiments, if you have them.

Col. M. A. Reno (chief of staff Gen. Smith) to Gen. Couch :

BRIDGEPORT, June 28, 1863.

The general commanding directs me to send the following information :

A citizen from Carlisle, just arrived, reports that the enemy, with 35 pieces of artillery, 2,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, entered the place last evening at 7 o'clock. From information received from the enemy, he says Gen. Hill is the support to the cavalry that has been operating in York County, Gen. Ewell supporting the cavalry in Cumberland County. They propose a junction of their forces at this point, and are supplied with a pontoon train.

Gen. Smith to Col. Coppee :

BRIDGEPORT, June 28, 1863.

Are there no troops at Mount Union or Bedford that could be gotten here to-night ?

Capt. T. N. Potter, A. D. C., to Gen. Smith :

As many men as it will be possible to get will be sent from Camp Curtin as soon as possible.

(Confidential) Asst. Adj.-Gen. Shultz, Department Susquehanna, to Capt. L. E. Wilson, Asst. Q. M.:

HARRISBURG, Pa., June 28, 1863.

The major-general commanding directs that you have sufficient combustible materials taken over to the west end of the public bridge, and there placed, under the direction of Gen. Smith, in such places that the bridge, if necessary, can be fired at a moment's notice. Combustible materials of any kind can be used. Turpentine, tar, shavings, etc., would be the best. Without delay.



Before the jokes in regard to the "false alarms of the papers" had died away, a stream of "skedadlers," small at first, but steadily increasing, began to sweep by the camp of the Twenty-second, and in a short time every road leading to the bridge crossing to Harrisburg became blocked, by day and night, with fugitive farmers, driving their flocks and herds, and followed by wagons, piled high with their most precious household goods, showing that the enemy were rapidly approaching. Horses became such a drug in the market that several officers purchased them for from \$10 to \$15 each. Still, matters in the regimental camp remained quiet, but all were on the alert.

On June 25, the necessity for an experienced commander having become apparent, Gen. William F. (Baldy) Smith was assigned to the command of all troops south of the Susquehanna, in the vicinity of Harrisburg. That same day the regiment was surprised at the reappearance in camp of several of their men (including Edward C. Homans and J. Ludlow Dumont) who had a few days before obtained a few days' furlough, to close up some pressing business in New York. They had found, on arriving there, such circumstantial reports of the prospects of a fight at Harrisburg that they had let their business go, and hastened back at once to share the fortunes of the regiment.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

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### FORTIFYING BRIDGEPORT.

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ON June 26, the stream of horses, cattle and terrified farmers became so great that it seemed as if a second Exodus was at hand. The fugitives talked as if a million of Lee's army was within gun-shot. The members of the regiment considered that they were cowards, and paid but little attention to their stories, which seemed to them to resemble the fables, that Jackson was coming up the valley, that used to be daily brought into their camp at Harper's Ferry. But those reports really had a considerable foundation, and the general officers appreciated it, though the men did not.

Orders were issued to all the troops to be in readiness to move or attack at a moment's notice, and all commandants of forts were required to see that their guns were in position, and provided with ammunition. The Twenty-third (Brooklyn) was sent out upon a reconnoissance four miles out on the Carlisle road, and was called in on the 27. That night, some spies, who had, for some inscrutable reason, concealed themselves in the camp of the Twenty-second, endeavored to escape under the cover of the night. They were detected, but safely ran the gauntlet of the fire of every sentry that



could get a shot, while the regiment, aroused from its sleep by the firing, sprung at once to arms, expecting to be attacked.

On June 27, the report came that the enemy were only four miles off, but as Company C (Capt. Post) and G (Capt. Howland) were holding a picket-line five miles out, and had not been driven in, the report was received by the Twenty-second with a slight discount. There was no doubt, however, that the invaders were near enough. Forty rounds of cartridges were issued to each man, and all that portion of the regiment not on picket was set at work throwing up a line of rifle pits to command the York road. They worked vigorously until 2 P. M. with the zeal which the occasion called for, and by that time had completed quite a respectable entrenchment. The men had been a good deal annoyed by the conversation of the proprietor of the farm upon which they were camped. His politics were of a pronounced "Copperhead" stripe and had allowed them to affect his common sense so much as to lead him to frequently declare "that he did not believe there were any rebels in the State and that the whole affair was an election dodge of Andy Curtin." It was therefore quite a satisfaction to the New Yorkers who had listened to these declarations, to dig a large rifle pit across his nice garden, as a practical demonstration to him that the situation had not been exaggerated by the patriotic Governor of his State.

In the afternoon the Twenty-second was given a rest (?) by being set to cut down a grove of large hickory trees which screened the road from the fire of the guns of the fort. The men had by this time become





impressed with the fact that the resemblance between digging a rifle-pit on a hot day and a laborer's work in excavating a sewer was very close, and they were glad to exchange it for chopping, "which was more like fun." Several boxes of new axes were furnished, and they fell to the new work with zeal, Col. Aspinwall himself setting the example. There had been no woods to fell at Harper's Ferry, and candor compels the statement that what the men did not know about chopping, would fill many books. The idea of "taking out a chip," the fundamental principle of chopping, was unknown to all but a few. Moreover, the axes were not properly fastened to the helvcs, and the way they flew off, made proximity to the working parties quite exciting.

The surrounding population volunteered their aid to the number of four (?), two of whom were negroes, but none the worse choppers for that. The emergency was great and a guard was detailed by Col. Aspinwall which impressed all the able-bodied civilians that could be found, and, with them for examples, and under the pressure of company rivalry, the big hickories were soon crashing in all directions, causing telegrams of "heavy firing at Harrisburg" from enterprising correspondents to go flying North over the wires.

At 7 p. m. the regiment stopped, with blistered hands and muscles aching from the unaccustomed labor, and returning to camp, were soon plunged in a dreamless slumber, although sleeping in their clothes and on their arms, so as to be able to respond in an instant, if called upon.

No alarm, however, broke the stillness of the night. On the morning of Sunday, June 28, a detachment from Company G, and some of the other companies,



composed of men who had not been able to march with the regiment, arrived from New York and reported for duty. The same morning the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers passed the camp and reported that the enemy were but three miles off, so that matters assumed quite a serious aspect. At noon the Twenty-second assembled in front of the colonel's tent for religious service, feeling rather more disposed to be pious than usual, for none knew what might occur before another day was passed.

Those services never took place. The men were in their positions, their prayer-books distributed, the chaplain had risen, and was on the point of announcing his text, when the colonel dashed up at full gallop, with the order, "Go back to your company 'streets' and strike tents at once."

The men rushed back to their quarters and preparations for breaking up camp went on in the greatest possible haste, in the midst of which the chaplain disappeared, never to be seen by the regiment until its return. That the situation was most serious, is shown by the following telegrams.

Gen. Couch to Secretary Stanton :

HARRISBURG, Pa., June 28, 1866.

By night the rebels will have possession up to my defences on the river. My information is that there are 15,000 in or near Carlisle and 4,000 or 8,000 from Gettysburg to York and Hanover. Their advance has just opened with artillery, four miles from my defences.

In his official report Gen. Couch states :

On the evening of the 22, the rebel cavalry advanced upon Chambersburg, followed by heavy masses of infantry and



artillery. It was the head of their army under Gen. Lee. A part of Ewell's corps advanced toward Carlisle, which place they occupied on the 27 and 28, by 12,000 men, our forces under Brig.-Gen. Knipe falling back to near Harrisburg. The remainder of Ewell's corps (8,000) crossed from Chambersburg to Gettysburg on the 16, drove in our scouts with their supports with a loss to us of 176 men missing and prisoners of the Twenty-sixth Emergency regiment. From that place the enemy moved in the direction of York.

The chief burgess and a deputation of citizens met this force nine miles from town and formally surrendered. It was occupied by Gen. Early on the 28. A body of 2,500 of the rebels immediately pushed toward Columbia, drove in the troops at Wrightsville, under Col. Frick, who retreated across the river and burned the bridges. Same day their advance approached to within three miles of Harrisburg, engaging our pickets and reconnoitered the works. Col. Tomas, Twentieth Regiment, in charge of bridges near York, retired toward the Susquehanna.

But to return to the Twenty-second. Company D (Capt. Thornell) was ordered down the York road to relieve the companies on picket, and, in obedience to subsequent orders, threw up a line of rifle-pits across the road to defend the position. Here they remained, lying on their arms, until they were ordered in on the morning of the 30.

In a few minutes the regimental camp was struck, and shelter-tents and more cartridges were distributed. Knapsacks were packed, and the men marched away little thinking, as they took leave of the pleasant spot, where their nice new tents were being loaded in wagons pressed for the occasion, of the length of time that would elapse before their heads would get under their (or any other) shelter again. Perhaps if they had, the leave-taking would have been more affecting.



During that Sunday the Twenty-third and other troops in the forts were drawn up in line of battle and assigned to places at the breastworks where arms were stacked. Squads were sent out to demolish buildings in front of the forts, cut down trees, bushes and corn, and to mow the wheat, so as to leave no cover for sharpshooters. In Harrisburg the State archives were packed up and sent off to Philadelphia.

The following is an extract from the diary of Theo. D. Rand, of Landis' Battery, made by him at the time and shortly after written out :

Sunday, June 28, we drilled before and after breakfast. At half past ten we had Divine service read by our first lieutenant, a remarkably fine officer, and one unusually respected by the men. The service was very impressive, and I believe will not soon be forgotten by those who participated in it. After service the ammunition was examined and the dinner served. In the midst of it we were ordered to the guns, an advance of the rebels being expected. The regiment of infantry which had been down the valley under Gen. Knipe, came pouring into the fort with reports of the near approach of the rebels. In an incredibly short time all the guns were manned and all the infantry drawn up in line of battle behind the parapet—a fine sight. The rebels were but three or four miles off. We could hear their firing distinctly. In front a heavy force, armed with axes, was levelling all the trees within close range, and the clang of the axes, mingled with the crash of the falling trees, made a sad music, for a beautiful landscape was being shorn of its greatest ornament and these seemed like its moan. That night we slept at the guns, indeed we did not leave them until Tuesday evening.

\* \* \* \* \*

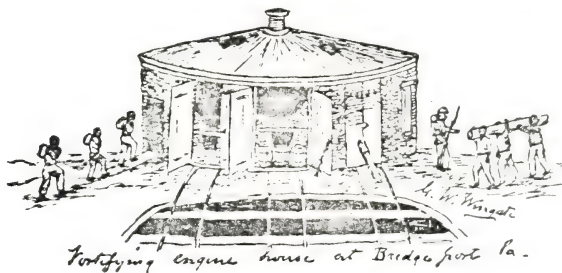
On Sunday evening we watched for some time a bright light in the south—the burning of Columbia Bridge—though at the time we had no idea of what it was.

\* \* \* \* \*





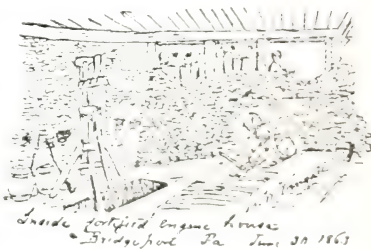
While some of the companies of the Twenty-second remained to hold the rifle-pits, Company G was sent out, in light marching order, about three miles down another road. The other companies marched to Bridgeport



*Fortifying engine house at Bridgeport Pa.*

Station, opposite Harrisburg, and proceeded to barricade several buildings commanding the approaches to

the important railroad bridge at this point, with as much industry as though they had not done a thing for a week. Companies A (then commanded by Lieut. Fuller, Capt. Otis being temporarily absent) and I (Capt. Gardiner), with beams, barrels of earth, bundles of lath, railroad sleepers and sand-bags, by 10 o'clock P. M., had converted the engine-house of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, in which they were stationed, into a loop-holed and casemated battery, to protect two howitzers of Miller's battery (which was attached to the Eighth N. Y. N. G.), placed there to command the railroad. The other companies were similarly occupied in different adjoining buildings. All the other regiments were also hard at work. The rock cut of the Northern Central Railroad under the fort was barricaded, rifle-pits constructed on the top of the cut, and in several other positions occupied by the



*Large fortified engine house  
Bridgeport Pa June 30 1863*



troops. The narrow pass of the Northern Central Railroad and the road at the end of North Mountain, on the river, a mile below the bridge, was filled by a small work of rock, earth and sand-bags, making a strong position. In the more laborious parts of the work of fortifying the round house, lifting railroad sleepers and carrying sand-bags, the detachment of the Twenty-second assigned to it was assisted by a detachment of negroes from the large body at work on the fortifications, who were put under the command of the writer; and it was really touching to see the patient, uncomplaining way in which these poor men worked. All the preceding night and day, with scanty covering, they had toiled, digging, carrying heavy beams and sand-bags, and though almost wearied out, without the slightest compulsion, and without the use of a single harsh word, they still continued late into the night. The white laborers from Harrisburg had long since abandoned the toilsome work; the weary soldiers stopped at nine o'clock, but the negroes kept on until near midnight. During the night, the detached companies of the regiment were drawn in, and joined the others at Bridgeport. A supply of bread and apple-butter was also issued. Several of the companies complained that they had found water scarce, and that some of the farmers had demanded payment for the use of their wells.

At 10 o'clock P. M., the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh were cautiously awakened, and marched stealthily out to cut off the enemy's advance guard of cavalry, reported to be reconnoitering in their front. It was an imposing sight to see the long column dimly and silently



stealing down the roads and through the varying shadows of the night. Not a sound was heard; orders were given in a whisper; and as the troops drew near the position supposed to be occupied by the enemy, the silence was so profound that the heavy breathing of the men was distinctly audible to their comrades.

After a march of five miles, whispered orders were passed down the line, and, amid a death-like silence, the regiments halted and formed line of battle, fixing bayonets and freshly capping their pieces in readiness for instant service. Every eye was strained, through the darkness, to discern the patrols of the enemy in the wavering shadows of the woods and fields, and every ear was stretched to its utmost tension to catch the expected challenge. But the silence was unbroken, and after a few moments' halt the column proceeded, feeling its way with the utmost caution, and expecting at every instant to hear the volley which would announce that the advanced pickets had been encountered. But this caution was unnecessary—the enemy had fallen back, and there was nothing to be seen.

The movement was well managed, and only wanted one thing to be a magnificent success—that was, an enemy. "As there wasn't anybody to be captured, we could not capture anybody;" so, after marching out some five miles past the pickets, the regiment returned without seeing anything, and at 4 A. M., after a six-hours' march, lay down by the railroad track to catch a brief rest. Many, however, were so tired and cold that they could not sleep. Company B (Lieut. Remmy) was not allowed even this rest, but was ordered to return to the picket station, down the New Cumberland road, from



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.



*Lt. W. Slinger*  
Regimental head quarters, under P. R. Lindye. opposite  
Harrisburgh June 30. 1863.



1<sup>st</sup> Lt. Rufus King Jr. 1<sup>st</sup> Section Landing Battery at Spaulding Hill June 30-63  
4<sup>th</sup> U.S. Artillery





which they had been recalled to join in the expedition, and which point they did not reach until 7 A. M.

June 29 was stormy, but the work went on. Gen. Ewen posted a section of Landis' battery on the York road, supported on each side by the Eleventh and Thirty-seventh. The Twenty-second awoke at daylight, and was held in reserve, continuing the work of clearing the woods and completing the rifle-pits, some of the detailments working upon the latter the entire night. Those not at work sheltered themselves in an unfinished building, or under the bridge, where the headquarters were established, consisting of three shelter tents and the reserve ammunition. A detachment from the Eighth, Twenty-third and Fifty-sixth N. Y. N. G., 150 strong, was sent out to Oyster Point, where it remained until after the affair of the Twenty-second on July 1, being fired on by Jenkins' advance. In the evening a portion of the Twenty-second marched out a short distance, and encamped in a beautiful grove; and at 10 o'clock at night the left wing marched out about five miles, to endeavor to feel the enemy's advance, but did not encounter it.





## CHAPTER XVII.

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### HARRISBURG IN DANGER.

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THE labor of so many men had by this time done much to strengthen Harrisburg and remove the danger that it might be taken by the sudden dash of a raiding force. But it is very doubtful if the fortifications could have withstood the attack of a heavy body of veteran troops. The forts were hastily constructed, and without abattis to stop a charge.

Fort Washington, the main defence, was an earth-work enclosing about sixty acres, situated on a commanding hill immediately in front of the Harrisburg bridge. The position was strong, as there was on each flank a steep hill, while on the rear was a cut thirty feet deep of the Northern Central Railroad. This fort was defended by twenty-five pieces of field artillery, mostly 6, 10 and 12-pounders. There were other supporting works on neighboring hills, but not sufficiently completed to be of any practical service in the defence. The troops on the south side of the river were under the command of Brig.-Gen. Hall, N. Y. N. G., who has been heretofore referred to, and whose staff was little better than himself.

The guns intended to defend the left flank of Fort Washington, a vital part of the defence, were old-



fashioned brass pieces, badly out of repair. At the foot of the hill, immediately in front of the guns, was a road which led to the Harrisburg bridge. The defence of this road was of the utmost importance, as the rebels, by burning or holding the bridge, would cut off all communication with Harrisburg. Notwithstanding this, these guns could not be depressed so as to strike within 300 yards of it. These guns were at one time changed for twelve-pounders, but on Sunday, when the artillerists in the fort marched out for drill at the guns, they found the twelve-pounders removed and the six-pounders in position again. To add to the difficulty, the six-pounder ammunition had been taken, thereby leaving six-pounder guns with twelve-pounder ammunition, although on this day it was confidently expected that the rebels would attack the fort. Capt. Muhlenburg, U. S. A., was then appointed chief of artillery, and soon set things straight, placing long-range guns in positions where long ranges could be had.

Not only were there few guns, but not a shot had been fired from a single one of them, and the inexperienced troops who manned them were ignorant of their ranges. Moreover, the whole force was small in comparison with the work it was expected to perform. That a strong force of veterans was in immediate proximity was known to those in command, and they were much more nervous than their subordinates, who knew but little of the situation.

On June 29, Gen. Couch telegraphed to Gen. Meade from Harrisburg:

My people driven over Columbia bridge. It is burned. I hold the opposite side of the river in strength at present. I am



looking for a considerable destruction on all railroad lines. Twenty-five thousand men are between Baltimore and this place.

I have only 15,000 men, such as they are, on my whole line, say 9,000 here.

The following telegram from Simon Cameron, ex-Secretary of War, to President Lincoln, shows the intense apprehension entertained by Pennsylvanians :

HARRISBURG, June 29, 1863.

We have reliable and undoubted information from three distinct sources that Gen. Lee has nearly, if not quite, 100,000 men between Chambersburg, on the upper side of South Mountain, and Gettysburg, on the east side of the mountain and the Susquehanna River. His columns at present extend from Shippenburg to near Harrisburg, and from Gettysburg to near Columbia. They have over two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, by actual count. Within the next forty-eight hours Lee will cross the Susquehanna River, unless Gen. Meade strikes his columns to-morrow, and compels him to concentrate his forces west of the Susquehanna for a general battle.\*

Let me impress upon you the absolute necessity of action by Meade to-morrow, even if attended with great risk, because if Lee gets his army across the Susquehanna, and puts our armies on the defensive of that line, you will readily comprehend the disastrous results that must follow to the country.

For the purpose of impressing upon those who, like the Twenty-second, had rushed to the front to defend the Union, that the country appreciated their services, the following order was promulgated from the War Department, and had a great effect upon the *esprit du corps* of the troops :

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\* That this was Lee's intention appears by the Confederate reports printed at page 190 post.





WAR DEPARTMENT,

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, June 29, 1863.

*General Orders No. 195.*

The Adjutant-General will provide an appropriate medal of honor for the troops who, after the expiration of their term, have offered their services to the Government in the present emergency; *and also for the volunteer troops from other States that have volunteered their services in the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania.\**

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

Like many other promises made by the nation, this was not kept, and the medals promised were never issued.

The writer once spoke to Gen. Grant upon the subject, who promised to do what he could to see that this promise was fulfilled, if he was furnished with an official copy of the order. But, although the writer several times sought to find it, both in the War Department files and those of the newspapers, he was unsuccessful until he encountered it in looking over the Rebellion Records to prepare this narrative. An endeavor was made by a committee representing the different regiments that served in this Campaign to induce the Fifty-fourth Congress to pass a resolution to authorize the issue of these medals, but it failed.

That the Confederate forces had fully reconnoitered the defences at Harrisburg, and were at this time about to attack them, is shown by the following extracts from the official reports of their commanders, which are published in the Rebellion Records. Gen. R. E. Lee states

\* Rebellion Records, Series I., Vol. XXVII., Part 3, p. 414.



in his report of the Maryland campaign (27 Rebellion Record, Part 2, p. 307):

Preparations were now made to advance to Harrisburg, but upon the night of the 28, information was received that the Federal Army, having crossed the Potomac, was advancing northward, \* \* \* it was resolved to concentrate east of the mountains. Accordingly, Longstreet and Hill were directed to proceed from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, to which point Gen. Ewell was ordered to march from Carlisle.

Gen. Ewell had arrived at Carlisle on June 27, with the divisions of Gens. Rodes and Johnson, preceded by Gen. Jenkins' Cavalry. He states in his report:

On the afternoon of June 21, I received orders from the Commanding Gen. (Lee) to take Harrisburg and on the following morning marched and reached Carlisle on the 27. \* \* \* From Carlisle I sent forward my engineer, Capt. H. B. Richardson, with Gen. Jenkins' Cavalry, to reconnoitre the defences of Harrisburg, and was starting, on the 29, for that place; when ordered by the general commanding to join the main body of the army at Cashtown, near Gettysburg.

Gen. Rodes states in his report:

On our arrival at Carlisle, Jenkins' Cavalry advanced towards Harrisburg, and had, on the 29, made a thorough reconnoissance of the defences of the place, with the view of our advance upon it—a step which every man in the division contemplated with eagerness, and which was to have been executed upon the 30; but, on the 30, having received orders to move towards the balance of the army, supposed to be at or near Cashtown, we set out for that place.

How the situation was regarded by Gen. Meade was manifested by the following circular:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, June 30, 1863.

The commanding general requests that previous to the engagement soon expected with the enemy, corps and all other



commanding officers address their troops, explaining to them briefly the immense issues involved in the struggle. The enemy are now on our soil. The whole country now looks anxiously to this army to deliver it from the presence of the foe. Our failure to do so will leave us no such welcome as the swelling of millions of hearts with pride and joy at our success would give to every soldier of this army. Homes, firesides and domestic altars are involved. The army has fought well heretofore; it is believed that it will fight more desperately and bravely if it is addressed in fitting terms.

Corps and other commanders are authorized to order the instant death of any soldier who fails in his duty at this hour.

By command of

MAJ.-GEN. MEADE.

S. WILLIAMS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

It must be said that the impression created at this time in the minds of the Twenty-second, was that in the incessant hurry and bustle that pervaded everything, there was a great want of system, that there was no great mind overseeing everything and watching that the right man was in the right place. Much of this was certainly unavoidable. Gen. Couch could not see everything done with his own eyes, and was hampered by his subordinates. Yet, the "slack" manner in which matters appeared to be managed, the rushing at a thing for half a day, then leaving that unfinished and going at something else; the subordinates at a loss for orders, and almost everyone doing what seemed right in his own eyes, were the subject of frequent unfavorable comment, especially among the "thinking bayonets" of the rank and file. But in justice it must be said that their opportunities of judging were very limited.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

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### OYSTER POINT.

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AT about ten o'clock on the morning of the thirtieth of June, an order came from Brig.-Gen. Ewen for the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh N. Y. N. G. to prepare for a four hours' march, "nothing to be carried but canteens." Orders were given for all men not able to march to fall out and report to the surgeon, but none did so. A hasty roll of the drum, a few hurried orders from the officers, the line was formed, and in less than fifteen minutes the regiments were off, leaving everything behind them. They never returned from that few hours' march.

It is unnecessary to say that this order to march troops in the face of an enemy without their haversacks, and at least one day's rations, was in violation of the established rules of war. How the authorities regarded such an act is shown by the following telegram from Maj.-Gen. Hallock to Gen. Schenck in regard to a portion of the latter's command which had been sent forward in a similar manner :

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1863.

It is officially reported that troops were sent from Baltimore to Frederick for immediate service, with haversacks and car-





tridge-boxes empty. Such neglect and carelessness of the officers sending them forward must be investigated and punished.

Gen. Ewen, who was severely criticised for his action, states in his report that he was ordered (without saying by whom) to march his brigade "without rations for a few hours' service."

Assuming this to be correct, yet if he had possessed any practical experience he would have at least required his men to carry their haversacks, and thus have saved them from subsequent great suffering.

The object of the march was to cut off a body of cavalry and artillery supposed to be a few miles out. In fact, it consisted of Gen. A. G. Jenkins' brigade of Stuart's Cavalry, which was attached to Ewell's Corps. This brigade consisted of the Fourteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Virginia, the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth Virginia battalions and Jackson Virginia Battery. It consisted of 1,200 mounted infantry and 300 to 400 cavalry, and the battery, all picked men and veterans. Gen. Ewen's Brigade consisted of the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh, and was accompanied by Gen. W. F. (Baldy) Smith. It marched three miles and formed line of battle in a clover field; here it waited an hour. As no enemy appeared, Gen. Smith returned with his staff, directing Gen. Ewen to follow. After the brigade had gone about a mile on its return, it was overtaken by a squad of Stanwood's cavalry, who reported having been driven by the enemy, and that the latter were then three miles in their rear. Gen. Ewen at once counter-marched his brigade and went in pursuit, despatching the cavalry in advance.



The brigade passed the place where it had been previously deployed, and proceeded several miles further. The enemy were concealed in a wood on the right of, and about a quarter of a mile distant from the road, and they promptly announced their presence by a volley as soon as the brigade reached the crest of a hill. They had also taken possession of one of the large brick barns for which this section of Pennsylvania is noted, and which they had loop-holed and filled with their skirmishers. The brigade was then in column in the road. It received no orders from Gen. Ewen. Lieut. (now Colonel) Rufus King, Fourth Artillery U. S. A., Gen. Smith's chief of artillery, seeing the enemy's skirmishers approaching to take possession of a wood on the left, rode up, and, on his own responsibility, directed two companies of the Twenty-second—Company A (Otis) and Company C (Post)—to seize and hold it. They at once deployed and took possession of it, thus covering the left flank of the column. They threw out patrols, who captured a prisoner who turned out to be a badly-scared native, to whom Capt. Otis administered the oath of allegiance, and then sent off for provisions. The rest of the regiment deployed into an open field on the left, and were ordered to lie down, which they did promptly, as the fire was becoming warm. The Thirty-seventh filed by a flank into the field on the right, and passed across a little hill, followed by some companies of the Twenty-second. As the leading files came over the brow of the hill, a severe fire was opened upon them, wounding several, among whom were Lieut. Colgate, who was shot in the neck, and a drummer-boy, who was shot in the hip. The Thirty-seventh was



ordered to rise and deploy forward. It hesitated to do this, in the face of such a severe fire, and I Company (Capt. Gardner) of the Twenty-second was ordered forward by Maj. Grant, of Gen. Ewen's staff, to compel them. The order was unnecessary, for they advanced, and, taking shelter behind a fence, returned the fire. They were at a great disadvantage, as the brick walls of the barn afforded the enemy perfect protection from their shots.

Shells now began to fly fast and thick over the Twenty-second, coming from several directions. The regiment, passing to the left, advanced through a wheat field, where they again laid down, expecting they were to attack one of the opposing batteries. The enemy opened a smart artillery fire upon them and upon the companies in the wood. This was aimed too high, so that the shells, although making a great noise in the woods and showering down many leaves and branches from the trees, did no harm. In the field they burst and tore up the ground, but passed over the regiment. One shell burst in the Thirty-seventh, wounding a number.

A section of Landis' Battery had been following the brigade, and was then about a mile in the rear. At the sound of the firing it mounted its men on the guns and caissons, and came up on a gallop.\*

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\* George E. Pearce, then the *Tribune* correspondent, in his account to the *Tribune*, states:

"Just as we gained the crest, crack, crack, went the sharpshooters of the enemy, and down we all went with a rush on our knees in obedience to a command from the officers. Our skirmishers were instantly thrown out, and soon we were responding sharply. The Twenty-second were thrown out on the left of the road and formed their battle line, with Company C (Capt. Post) as skirmishers. This was the position of affairs for about half an hour, when a louder explosion than had yet occurred was heard in the dis-



The section was posted in the centre, one gun in the road, and another behind a house to the right, and opened fire. It was the first time the battery had ever fired their guns with projectiles. In fact, one squad was putting in a rifle-shell fuse first when they were stopped by Lieut. King. Lieut. King showed the men how to cut their fuses, and gave such other instructions as, with men of their intelligence, soon made their fire effective. The first shell burst in the barn with such effect that instantly its two great doors were swung open and a swarm of Confederate skirmishers came rushing out and made for the woods, where the main body was posted. The fire of the section was then directed at the Confederate battery with good effect. After a short time the fire of the enemy slackened and then ceased, and they disappeared.

Artillery being then heard on the left, the Twenty-second changed line from front to rear to be in readiness to repel an attack from this direction. But this force did not show itself, except by a few cavalry.

While this skirmish was of no particular account in itself, it is really historic. It was at the furthest northern point which was reached by the invaders, and marks the crest of the wave of the invasion of Pennsylvania. The retreat of the Confederate force there commenced

tance, and whirr came a shell directly over our skirmishers, and over the battalion, and exploded just beyond—a beautiful line shot, but a little too high. Things began to look serious, as the shell was followed quickly by two round shot, when just at that moment a rumbling was heard in our rear, and two rifled pieces of Landis' Philadelphia Battery appeared coming around a bend in the road. Maj. Cox threw up his hat in delight, and as they wheeled in a cornfield on our right, between us and the Thirty-seventh, and opened on the instant, it was with the utmost difficulty the men could be kept from cheering and thus revealing their position to the enemy."





did not end until the Potomac was crossed. The success obtained must be largely ascribed to the gallant conduct of Landis' Battery, who, from this time forward, became the firm friends of the Twenty-second, a relationship which exists between many of the members of the two organizations up to this writing.

The farmers in the neighborhood reported that the rebels stated their loss to be sixteen killed and twenty to thirty wounded.\* Gen. Ewen states in his report that a farmer also reported the force on the left consisted of 3,500 men with two guns. It is doubtful, however, if Jenkins had more than 1,600 men.

It was most fortunate for the brigade that the enemy did not discover the small force opposed to them. Lieut. Whelan of the Thirty-seventh had a brother who was an officer in Jenkins' Brigade. In talking of the affair at the armory of the Thirty-seventh, one night after the War, this brother stated that it was supposed by the Confederates that they were opposed by Couch's entire corps, and they therefore did not assume the offensive. That night, before they learned of their error, they received orders to fall back and join Ewell, who had been recalled by Lee to meet the Army of the Potomac.

After a short pursuit, the approach of darkness admonished the general in command of the necessity of caution. A halt was ordered, and then orders came to return to Bridgeport. Full of life and spirits, although considerably exhausted by the fatigue of the day, the brigade took up the homeward march. As soon as it

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\* The New York *Times* correspondent's report states that sixteen dead Confederates were left on the field.



had been learned that there had been a "scrimmage," a wagon filled with provisions, and accompanied by all the men on guard at Bridgeport who could by any possibility get excused, pushed out to meet the Twenty-second.

Upon learning that the regiment was returning, the wagon was stopped some miles out and some of the men began to prepare supper for the regiment while the others pushed on and reported to their companies.

The word they brought that supper was not far distant, put fresh vigor in weary limbs, and at once revived all flagging spirits. Practical experience is necessary to appreciate the great difference in the marching powers of troops after a long fast, whether the men are proceeding towards their supper or away from it.

Suddenly an aid rode up with orders to follow up the retreating enemy, and the brigade halted. Then it appeared that orders had been given to load up the provision wagon and hurry everything back to Bridgeport so that the men would have supper ready upon their arrival, and that it had departed—another instance of the inefficiency of the brigade staff. Gen. Ewen states in his report :

It was then dark. My command had had no food since breakfast and was destitute of rations and blankets. A considerable portion had been working upon the trenches during the preceding night. I therefore found it impracticable to proceed until rations should be procured, for which requisition was immediately made; but owing to the delay in procuring and preparing the same, it was daylight before the meal could be made.

In fact, the men were worn out by the hard labor of the preceding days, to which they were unaccustomed. The marching and excitement of the day had also told



upon them, and, to add to this, to sleep without covering, and with empty stomachs, on the bare ground, was a severe infliction. It was the more felt because they all considered that it was an act of gross negligence for them to have been sent forward without their haversacks; and, rightfully or wrongfully, they held their brigade commander responsible for their sufferings. Where soldiers feel that their officers are solicitous of their comfort, and all is being done for them that is possible, they will endure great hardships without complaint. But if they suppose their officers are neglecting them, their confidence and respect are gone. Napoleon said, "An army marches on its stomach." To get troops to do good work, they must be fed; and it is as important to see that this is done as to provide them with ammunition.

The following official telegrams show the reason for the order for the brigade to press forward, but not for not forwarding supplies.

Gen. Couch to Gen. Hallock:

HARRISBURG, June 30, 1863.

As telegraphed previously, part of the rebel forces, if not all, have fallen back toward Chambersburg, passing Shippensburg last night in great haste. I expect to hear every minute that my cavalry, under Gen. Smith, has re-occupied Carlisle. My latest information is that Early, with his 8,000 men, went toward Gettysburg or Hanover, saying they expected to fight a great battle there. At Carlisle they said that they were not going to be outflanked by Hooker.

Gen. Couch to Secretary Stanton:

HARRISBURG, June 30, 1863.

Scouts report a force of rebels having left Carlisle this morn-



ing by the Baltimore pike, and that Ewell, from York, went northwesterly, which would unite their two forces.

Gen. Hallock to Gen. Couch :

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, 12:15 P. M., June 30, 1863.

Every possible effort should be made to hold the enemy in check on the Susquehanna till Gen. Meade can give him battle. I have no direct communication with Gen. Meade, but he wishes you to be in readiness to act in concert with him. You will probably be able to learn his movements from the country people. He will be close on the enemy's right and rear.

As there was nothing else to be done, the men, drenched as they were with perspiration, without rubber blankets, overcoats, or anything under or over them, lay down in the wet grass by the roadside, in the drizzling rain, and slept as best they could, with the exception of Company G, which was detailed for picket duty, and got but little sleep. The provision wagon of the Twenty-second came back about 2 A. M., and some coffee and hard tack were dealt out to the few who were awake.







## CHAPTER XIX.

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### THE ADVANCE ON CARLISLE.

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AT daylight the men awoke and received three crackers per man and nothing else, a light and frugal repast on which to start on their first long march, with the prospects of its ending in a fight. Gen. Ewen made a brief address, stating that the command was going to Carlisle, where they would again meet the enemy, and the brigade advanced at 4 A. M., Company B (Lieut. Remmey) of the Twenty-second being deployed as skirmishers, followed by Company I (Capt. Gardner) as an advance guard, then came the Thirty-seventh (Col. Roome being senior to Col. Aspinwall) and then the Twenty-second and Lieut. Perkins' section of Landis' Battery. After proceeding cautiously a few miles, citizens returning from Carlisle to Harrisburg gave information that the force that had been encountered the day before had passed rapidly through Carlisle about daylight, carrying with them a number of killed and wounded in ambulances.\* The regiment also learned, at least the men in the ranks did, that the rebel pickets were close to Carlisle.

The day was beautiful, though rapidly becoming too warm for comfort, and by ten o'clock it was scorching

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\* Gen. Ewen's report.



hot. The route lay through a most lovely country. Scarcely anywhere can the eye rest on finer scenery, more beautiful fields, more comfortable farm-houses, or more magnificent barns (for magnificent is the only adjective applicable to those structures) than those of southern Pennsylvania. But the houses were deserted, the farms pillaged, everything of value, everything that could walk, or be eaten or stolen, had been swept away by the invader, and the peaceful population were fugitives. The most stringent orders were issued to the brigade against entering the empty houses and against pillage of every description, which were then and afterwards enforced, the temptation being great for the hungry and badly supplied men to help themselves. In fact some of the Thirty-seventh during the night procured blankets and bed quilts from the empty houses, the quilts being of the most variegated pattern and presenting a most unmilitary appearance.

The men of the Twenty-second were stiff, sore and far from amiable when they started, but after a short time, as the fatigue of the previous night wore off, the excitement of the coming fight began to be felt, and the echoes of song and laughter floated down the column and were taken up and re-echoed from company to company till they died away in the distance, and "all went merry as a marriage bell"—for a time.

The roads were good, the air pure, halts had been permitted; there was nothing to find fault with. The people, like those of Philadelphia, were as kind and hospitable as could be desired. In Hogestown, a little village on the "pike," and all along the road, wherever there were occupied houses, the women (and very pretty



women some of them were, too) turned out *en masse* with trays of bread and apple-butter, and buckets of cool spring water for the benefit of the troops, attention which was the more appreciated from its contrast with the customs of Harrisburg.

A regiment of Pennsylvania reserves, which had started fresh and well fed from Bridgeport that morning, and had gained on the brigade while it had been retarded by the slow progress of the skirmishers through the tall grain and tangled wheat, pressed on when the rumor began to spread that Carlisle was evacuated, and, in a manner which was not considered to be consistent with either the rules of war or politeness, undertook to push their way past the brigade (which was proceeding by the flank) "to get in ahead of the Yorkers" and win the honors of the victory from those who thought they had borne the burden and heat of the day. This did not meet with the approval of the commanding officers of the Twenty-second. When, therefore, the new-comers pushed up on the right, the head of the column gently obliques that way close up to the roadside. If they changed to the other side, a simple "left oblique" rendered passage on that impracticable; and when they attempted, with profound strategy, to come up on *both* sides, the order, "By company into line," filled the road from fence to fence with a solid front of men and barred their further progress.

Then, letting down the fences, the persistent Pennsylvanians took to the field, and attempted to pass in that manner. At the sight of this a wild cry of "double quick" went up from the rear to the front of the column, and, breaking into a "double," the brigade swept



on for half a mile, leaving its competitors far in its rear, whence they never emerged to trouble it.

This performance, it may be remarked, was not of a highly military nature, and Gen. Ewen should not have permitted his command to be thus interfered with. It induced Gen. Aspinwall to order the advance guard under Capt. A. B. Gardner (I) to push forward as rapidly as possible. This was done, and they were the first to enter the town.

It had been reported, it is true, from passing buggies and straggling squads of paroled prisoners, that the village itself had been evacuated. But all had united in asserting that the rebels were still very near, several stating that they were just on the outskirts of the place. With troops as tired and hungry as those that composed the brigade, and who were not yet inured to marching, it would seem to have been the part of wisdom to conduct the march so as to keep the men as fresh as possible. The urgency was great, however, and Gen. Smith was bent upon getting possession of Carlisle before Stuart's raiders could reach it.

After the skirmishers were called in, the march had been rapid. It now became forced. That meant, in this instance, a march where speed is such an object that everything must be disregarded, and, well or ill, suffering or not, "the men must push on."

Push on they did, and from the halt, more than ten miles from Carlisle, until the regiment prepared to meet the enemy within it, no rest was allowed. At Kingston, a small, but patriotic, village on the road, where the women stood at their doors with piles of bread and apple-butter, all expected, as a matter of course, that





they would be allowed rest and a chance to obtain some food. But, although it was now noon, and no rations had been received since the morning of the previous day (except a little bread and apple-butter obtained by a few of the lucky ones at Hogestown), no halt was permitted, and the hungry men were compelled to "close up" and march away from the food that stood ready for them. Anyone who thinks this was not a sacrifice had better try the experiment.

Here occurred one of the instances of the want of confidence entertained by the men toward Gen. Ewen. If they had known of the emergency that existed for reaching Carlisle, and that the march was pressed by direction of Gen. Smith, they would have submitted to it without discontent. But they did not know it, and regarded the way they were being pushed as arising from the want of military knowledge of Gen. Ewen, and as unnecessary. Consequently, while they obeyed orders they growled horribly. In fact, they never forgave Gen. Ewen for what they suffered upon that never-to-be-forgotten march. Gen. Smith was not with the column, or he would doubtless have managed matters differently. He had ordered Col. Brisbane's brigade to move from Bridgeport at daylight, but they had been unable to do so until 9 A. M. for want of transportation. He had then ridden to headquarters to receive instructions and make arrangements for supplies and transportation. It would appear that Gen. Couch's staff had never contemplated the idea that an advance might be made. It is certain that they were wholly unprepared for it. Gen. Smith then re-crossed the river and ordered Gen. Brisbane's brigade to move as far forward as practicable



and encamp, and to move at an early hour in the morning. There was some trouble with the Eleventh N. Y. N. G., which was unwilling for some reason to march, but finally did so, so that it was not until 3:30 P. M. that Gen. Smith could leave Bridgeport to join the advance.

There can be but little doubt that Gen. Smith was greatly "disgruntled" at being assigned to this command. He considered it a great descent from the magnificent corps in the Army of the Potomac that he had formerly commanded, and he was in that state of mind familiarly known as "sour." He always spoke well of the Twenty-second, but he had profound contempt for many of the hasty levies and for the general officers of the National Guard under him. His feelings probably led him to display a good deal more indifference to his division than many officers would have done, and, some thought, induced him to show a disposition "to let things go anyhow" without trying very hard to improve them, a fact which appears in his correspondence. It would seem as if he might have shown more active interest in improving the discipline of the command or in looking out for their comfort. If he had, he could largely have added to their efficiency. On the other hand, while he was miserably supplied, not even being provided with a quartermaster,\* no complaint appears in his letters, nothing but the most soldierly spirit to do the best he could with what he had, and he was very popular in his division.

But to return to the regiment. For a little while the march continued as usual. Thirteen miles passed;

\* Official report, page 323 post.



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\* Official report, page 323 post.



a few quietly dropped out; all were growling, not loud but deep. Fourteen, more vacancies. Fifteen, the sun now beating down with the sultry heat of an extremely hot July day, no shade, no water, no rest; no complaining now, but men dropping out with frightful rapidity. All those who were not pure "grit" had given in previously, and from this time those remaining kept up, till they fell from sheer exhaustion. On every side one would see men flush, breathe hard, stagger to the side of the road and drop almost senseless; but still the column went on, many with feet so blistered that they hobbled rather than marched.

At one time the entire left wing<sup>2</sup> of the Thirty-seventh, on arriving at the crest of a hill, rebelled, and halted where they stood. But as the Twenty-second pressed on, regimental pride was aroused—an officer of the Thirty-seventh snatched up the regimental colors, and rushed forward, cheering on his men; and, closing up as best they could, every man able to walk rallied himself once more, and pushed forward.

Col. Roome, of the Thirty-seventh, gave out early, exhausted by illness and the fatigues of the previous day. He followed his regiment, however, in a wagon; and many other officers of the brigade were compelled to imitate his example.

Neither here nor at any other time during the campaign were there ambulances or wagons, or anything for the transportation of the sick but what could occasionally be picked up on the road, so that the great majority of the disabled, not only here, but throughout the subsequent march, had to be left where they gave





out. The farmers, however, were kind-hearted and patriotic, and did all they could to take care of them.\*

The brigade reached a point about a mile from Carlisle about 5 P. M. It was then ascertained that the rebels were in the immediate vicinity, and it halted to repel an attack. But in place of the two regiments that started eleven hundred strong, only about three hundred men were left, and even these were almost completely exhausted. The remainder were stretched in groups along the roadside, bathing their heads where they could get water, and striving to collect their strength sufficiently to enable them to overtake the column; and *seven men* in the Twenty-second, reported by the surgeon as ruptured, afforded an additional proof, if one were necessary, of the severity of the march.

The mere distance marched was not so great as necessarily to have produced such a result. The same troops subsequently marched much farther without a tithe of the suffering; but it was a great mistake to compel men fresh from civil life, exhausted by previous hard manual labor and privation, and without sufficient food, to undergo such an ordeal, and its effect on the morals and discipline of the troops can readily be conceived by any one.

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\* In company with a corporal and four privates, I was detailed to act as rear guard, and pick up stragglers; and it was awful to see the boys drop out by the roadside, and lie there, too sick to move. In all cases they were taken into the nearest inhabited houses, the inhabitants of which were very hospitable, especially the ladies of Kingston, who had provided bread and butter, apple jam, cool water, etc.—the best they had.

Pearce's *Tribune* correspondence.



## CHAPTER XX.

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### THE DEFENCE OF CARLISLE.

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THE march was finished, and the brigade was at Carlisle, but so were the rebels. For a while there was mounting in hot haste, riders galloping back to hurry up stragglers; and the brigade rapidly formed into line, amid hurried consultations of field officers, muttered curses from captains who, like Rachel, mourned for their companies "because they were not," and the other unmistakable signs which indicated nervous anxiety at headquarters. An hour or so was spent on tenter-hooks, during which the ranks were largely increased by the reporting of men who had temporarily succumbed to the heat and fatigue, but who had pushed on when hearing how much they were needed. The brigade then marched forward, having learned that the enemy had retreated, and, passing through the principal streets of Carlisle, raised the American flag amid great enthusiasm.

The reception of the troops at Carlisle was all that could be expected from a patriotic people welcoming those who had delivered them from a detested enemy. The hurrahs of the men, the smiles and waving of handkerchiefs of the ladies, made all forget their priva-



tions, and feel that they were engaged in a sacred cause; and when the tired and hungry men were shown to a substantial meal in the market-house, and waited on by the ladies of the town (who were conceded to utterly eclipse any seen on the route for good looks as well as hospitality), it was unanimously resolved by the rank and file that "Mahomet's paradise was not, in it with Carlisle."

About 6 p. m., while the Twenty-second were making some slight amends for their two-days' fast, a report came that the rebels were advancing from the south, and the Twenty-second was ordered to support the artillery, under Lieut. King, which was sent in that direction. Leaving their meal unfinished, the regiment formed, and rapidly marched through the town, cheered on by the ladies from every house. On the way to the position, refreshed and almost as good as new, uproarious cheers were given for the ladies of Carlisle, the Thirty-seventh, Col. Roome—for everything, in fact, *except* their brigade commander, whose appearance, from that time forth, was the signal for the dearest kind of silence—a slight which elicited from that neglected individual an order forbidding "this ridiculous (?) habit of cheering."

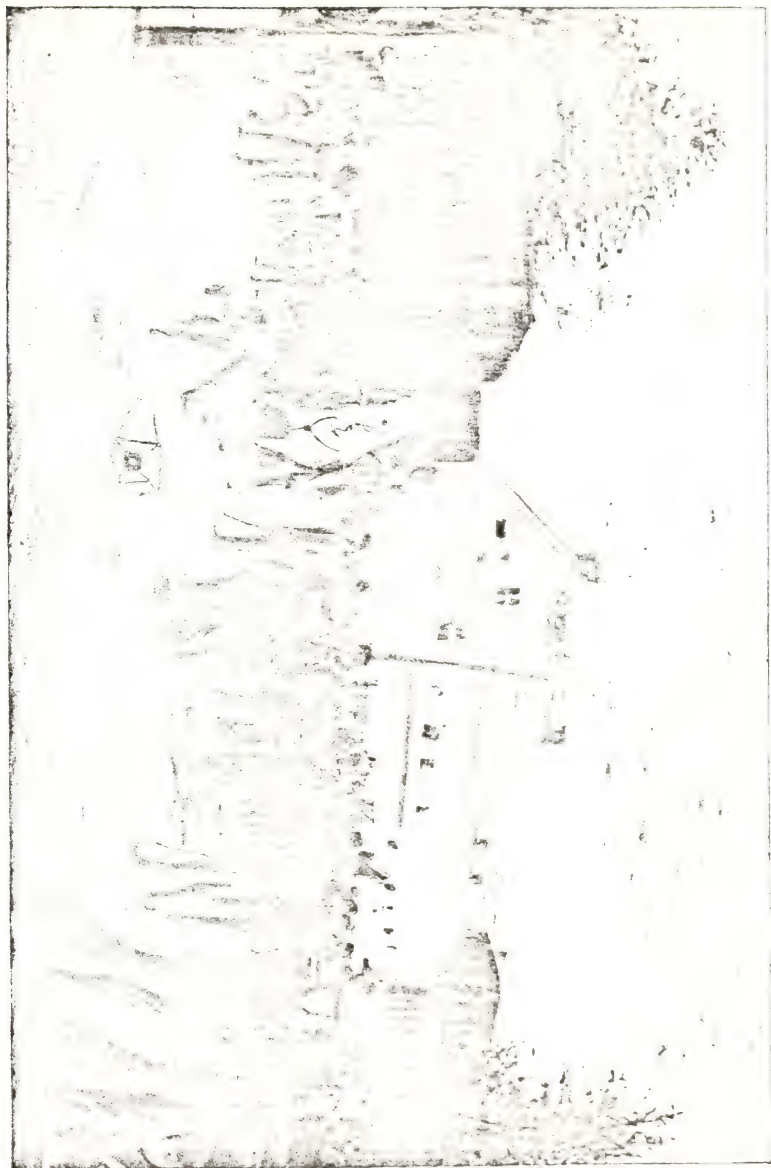
On reaching the crest of a hill, two miles south of the village, which overlooked a broad valley and the main road, the section of Landis' Battery was placed in position; and the Twenty-second, now quite well filled up by the arrival of those who had given out from the privation and heat of the march, formed line of battle as supports. It may be remarked, as an example of the pluck and the fatigue of the men, that, though an



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

From a Painting in Philadelphia

BOMBARDMENT OF CARLISLE, PA., JULY 1, 1863.







engagement was momentarily expected, more than three-quarters of the rank and file coolly lay down in their places, and went to sleep. An hour passed, and a cavalryman was seen coming from the south, urging his horse to its utmost speed. At each jump his sabre would fly high in the air on one side and his carbine on the other, while he bent forward over his horse's neck, so that he could have served as a model for a picture of "a frightened vidette." Still, nothing appeared at the south. But in a short time the heavy boom of cannon and the explosion of a shell, brought even the most weary to their feet. At this time Gen. Ewen was engaged with a native in discussing the place to put the guns. The native, who was suspected of being a Confederate emissary, was advising him that there was a much more commanding position a mile to the south. In fact, it was one which would have insured the capture of the artillery. When the firing came from the north, Gen. Ewen characteristically exclaimed: "Verily, gentlemen, it behooves us to look around us." In this his command, for once, agreed with him. Nothing was to be seen in front but the thick columns of smoke ascending in the rear from the other side of Carlisle; and the bright flashes of light and the frequent reports of artillery from the hills on the north, showed that the enemy had surrounded the place in overwhelming force; and, without affording to the many helpless women and children who were in it an opportunity to escape, had commenced to shell the town. Fortunately, Gen. Ewen had been apprised that the enemy was approaching before he marched out, and had sent back word to Gen. Brisbane, who ordered the remainder of



Landis' Battery to proceed, with all possible speed, to Carlisle, and followed it at once with his troops. The following extract from a letter from C. Stuart Patterson, a member of the battery who was severely wounded during the engagement, gives a graphic account of their experiences :

"I shall not tell you the story of the march, for we have both read our friend Wingate's admirable description of it, but will resume the broken thread of my story about five miles from Carlisle. Fatigued by the march, for it seemed long to raw recruits, and the day had been sultry, we had halted in column on the road. I threw myself on the ground and was in a semi-asleep state. How long I had been thus, I know not. When I heard the noise of a horse galloping at speed, I half-opened my eyes to see, pulled up almost on top of me, a horse, white with foam, having for his rider a young officer in an irritatingly nice uniform, and whose face was almost as white as his collar. He hurriedly asked for the brigade commander, and then for the captain of the battery. I informed him that he would find him in the rear of the column, and received for my reply an order to push on to Carlisle with the section of which I was temporarily in command, as an attack was expected there. I got ready to move, and by the time the men were mounted, the captain and Corporal Rosengarten, the chief of our section, had come up, and off we started at a gallop. What a ride it must have been for the unfortunates who sat on the limbers and caissons, I can well imagine, for my experience on parade in the city some months before had made me feel forcibly that I could wish my bitterest enemy no worse fate than to ride on a caisson when the horses were trotting. But one of our comrades was the most unfortunate. "Hans Breitman" (Charles S. Leland), unable to find room on limber or caisson, had, with admirable fortitude, seated himself astride of a gun in the way that sailors are popularly supposed to ride a horse—with his back turned in the direction the column was moving and his arms clasped round the piece ; every jolt (and they were not



few nor far between) sent him up about three feet, and, most unluckily for him, the law of gravitation did not fail to operate, and consequently he would descend upon his hard steel saddle with a force that would have drawn from most men some other expression than the (apparently) German air which he continued to hum with the most unbroken good humor. It was almost dusk when we rode into the market-square in Carlisle, received by the cheers of the inhabitants, and, what was more grateful, by their good cheer so generously set out in the market-house. The market-square is the centre of the town, and is formed by the intersection of the Harrisburg-Baltimore Pike with the main street, on which is laid the track of the Cumberland Valley Railroad. Around this square stand the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, the courthouse, the jail and the hotel. We found then that the first section of the battery, with the first brigade of infantry, had been sent down the Baltimore Pike in search of the mysterious enemy, to repulse whom our march had been so much accelerated. We halted and dismounted with alacrity that would have done credit to veterans. The streets were crowded with women and children, the latter gazing with open mouths or making minute investigations into the contents of the limber and caisson-boxes, and the former mostly engaged in dispensing the generous cheer they had provided. I distinctly remember sitting on the curbstone, with a young lady on each side of me, a piece of bread and butter in each hand and a cup of coffee on my knee. About this time Gen. Smith and staff rode in, the General dressed in a gray walking suit and looking like a country gentleman riding out to inspect his farm. Our friend, Dr. Will's, soldierly appearance caused him, as he was at the head of the staff, to be taken almost universally for the division commander. While I did ample justice to the good fare provided by my fair friends, they reciprocated by telling me of their confident expectations that Gen. Lee could never face the invincible Philadelphia Battery, and that his whole army was undoubtedly in retreat at that very time. I think that comforting assurance had just been given me when I heard quite a loud explosion, and a whiz, as if some-



body had been popping off a sky-rocket, and that a tolerably large one, over my head. I think I should hardly have known what it was if an obliging cavalry soldier had not come down the street, apparently in some hurry, and informed everybody thereabout, as well as most of the inhabitants of the neighboring houses (for he spoke loudly), that the "rebs" were firing at us, and then evinced his unfaltering belief in the entire accuracy of his own statement by moving off at a rapid pace in a direction that, if pursued long enough, would have placed him in much closer proximity to the North Pole than to the rebels. What became of him I can't say. But, if Sir John Franklin is ever discovered, I shall make it my business to fit out an expedition in search of my friend of the cavalry, for I have never seen him since. Shot after shot followed in rapid succession, the first few being fired at a considerable elevation and apparently going over the town. Their first effect was to clear the streets of all non-combatants and of some who, if they had had any sense of honor, or even ordinary courage, would have been active combatants. I have in some of the plays and pantomimes, which it has been my good, or ill fortune to see, witnessed some rapid changes of scenery, but no scene in any play, however sensational, was ever transformed with the rapidity they displayed, and no stage-clown or ghost ever vanished from the stage with greater celerity, than that of my fair friends, who, in their hurry, forgot to say "good-bye." As my gun was the nearest to the main street, I had the good fortune to wheel into position before my brother sergeants could have time to turn. Gen. Brisbane then directed me to go into battery on the railway track. Thus upon us devolved the honor of opening the ball on our side. I found that the enemy's battery was in position on the outskirts of the town, apparently about 300 yards away from us; my gun was pointed toward them; on my right, and direct at right angles from my gun, so as to command the Baltimore Pike, were Hart and Williams with their guns, and on my left was Rosengarten, with his gun pointed toward Harrisburg. The limbers and caissons of our four guns were drawn up in rear of my gun and almost filled up the square. In line on the main street, and with their right





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REBELS SELLING N. Y. MILITIA IN STREETS OF CARLISLE, PA.

From "Harpers Weekly," by permission McDonnell Bros., Chicago.



resting on the Baltimore road, was the Gray Reserve Regiment, and immediately on my right was a company from the interior of the State, who broke, and who were seen by me no more that night. We fired, as you know, but three shots. If they did any execution, the credit is solely due to Capt. Landis, for he sighted the pieces. Just as I had given the order to fire the third shot, some ten or fifteen minutes after the commencement of the action, I received the wound which consigned me to the hospital for the balance of that fight and sent me home two days afterwards.

It need not be said that the position of the Twenty-second, south of the town, was now most precarious, and in a few minutes Capt. Burke, of Gen. Smith's staff, rode up with an order for its immediate return.

Fortunately, the moon had not yet risen, and the dusk of the evening concealed them as they crept back. As the regiment stealthily "sneaked" into the village in columns of fours, in a manner very different from the triumphant manner in which they had marched from it shortly before, a shadowy something made itself visible along the high road. The leading non-commissioned officer of Company A, who was gifted with very good sight, remarked to Capt. Otis that "that was a gun and it was trained upon the head of the column." This was doubted, but when the sergeant obliqued to the other side of the road, the manner in which the piece followed the column showed that he was correct. The situation was apparent at once. The troops in the town had feared the regiment was captured. Not being sure whether the advancing column were friend or foe, its Philadelphia friends kept a gun double shotted with canister, trained upon its approach. The Twenty-second, being familiar with artillery, knew



from the position of the gun and men what it meant, and then and always have been thankful that the gentleman who held the lock-string that evening was not a nervous man. If he had been, this history would never have been written.

On entering the town it was ascertained that Gen. "Baldy" Smith had reached it with two regiments of Pennsylvania Reserves (militia) and the remainder of Landis' Battery, under Col. Brisbane, after the Twenty-second had left. It was also ascertained that Gen. J. E. B. Stuart was in command of the attacking force.

Gen. Stuart had left the Army of Virginia on his memorable raid, had gone around the Army of the Potomac, captured a train within two miles of Washington and thence proceeded to York and Hanover, trying to effect a connection with Gen. Lee, who, by reason of his absence, had been prevented from learning of the movements of the Army of the Potomac. His command consisted of the brigade of Gen. Fitz-Hugh Lee, the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth regiments of Virginia Cavalry, that of Gen. Hampton, consisting of the First and Second South Carolina Cavalry, First North Carolina, Jeff. Davis Legion, Mississippi; Cobb Legion, Georgia; and Phillips Legion, Georgia; and of W. H. F. Lee's Brigade, consisting of the Ninth, Tenth and Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry and the Second North Carolina Cavalry. Stuart's Horse Artillery was also included in the Division. All had been marching and fighting incessantly since June 9. The following letter from Col. T. S. Garnet, aid to Gen. Stuart, is interesting from its personal reminiscences as well as from giving the Confederate side of the affair:



NORFOLK, VA., May 31, 1892.

GEN. GEORGE W. WINGATE, New York.

*Dear General*—In response to your request, as contained in your letter of the twenty-seventh instant, I proceed to give you an account of the advance upon Carlisle, Pennsylvania, made by General J. E. B. Stuart, with three brigades of cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia, on the evening of July 1, 1863.

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*

It was Gen. Stuart's purpose to pass through the gap in the mountains west of Hanover, and debouch into the Gettysburg Valley; but on approaching Hanover, the Second North Carolina Cavalry (Lieut.-Col. W. H. Payne) encountered Farnsworth's Brigade, of Kilpatrick's Division, and had a sharp little fight in the town; but not being supported in time, was driven back, having its colonel captured, and losing upwards of 106 other prisoners.

In the fight which ensued, Kilpatrick's Division must have been roughly handled, as he admits a loss of 197. At dusk, Gen. Stuart withdrew, with all his troops and trains, through Jefferson, towards York, Pa., hoping to hear from the right wing of the Army of Northern Virginia, then believed to be operating towards the Susquehanna.

It was surprising that no news had reached us of the position of the Army, and now it became essential to know what was Gen. Lee's plan of concentration.

Arrived at Dover, Pa., on the morning of July 1, Gen. Stuart sent off one of his staff—Major Venable—on the trail of Early's troops; and, later in the day, Capt. Henry Lee, of Gen. Fitz Lee's staff, was sent towards Gettysburg. But before either of these officers could return, Gen. Stuart had reached the suburbs of Carlisle, in the afternoon of July 1.

You will pardon this long preface, but it was given in answer to your inquiry as to the route by which we reached Carlisle.

And now in regard to our strength actually present at Carlisle. Fitz Lee's Brigade alone invested Carlisle. The brigade of Gen. Hampton came no farther than Dillsburg, at which point, on the evening of July 1, it was turned off, with orders





to march ten miles on the road to Gettysburg. The brigade of W. H. F. Lee was between Dillsburg and Carlisle, but took no part in the attack. So that there were present at Carlisle only about 1,500 men of Stuart's Cavalry, and, I think, only four of the guns of the Stuart Horse Artillery.\*

Perhaps I may indulge here in some personal reminiscence, and as memory is apt to lay hold of the insignificant details of any affair, I would state that I believe I was about the first of Stuart's men to enter the city limits of Carlisle. As I rode around the corner of a yard or enclosure, where the street makes a right-angle as it enters the town, I observed a few skirmishers approaching and taking position behind a stone wall in the edge of the town, and two horsemen advanced at a canter. When they had approached within pistol range I fired once at them, and they wheeled and disappeared. At the same moment, the skirmishers let me have it from their stone breast-works, and I quickly retreated to the angle I had just passed.

Others of our command, chiefly couriers of Gen. Stuart, and then the General himself, rode up and received a few shots from the skirmishers.† Not wishing to bring on an engagement, and not seeing any force in town, Gen. Stuart directed us to prepare a flag of truce.

One of our Signal Corps flags—a white flag with a red square in the centre—was made to do duty as a flag of truce, by pinning something white over the red square, and one of our couriers was sent with an officer into the town to demand its immediate surrender.

The flag was detained unusually long,‡ and Gen. Stuart, becoming impatient, sent in another messenger requesting that the women and children be removed, and stating that unless

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\* Gen. Smith's report says seven guns. There were certainly as many.

† Gen. Garnet states that he was not more than a hundred yards off when he was fired on, and Gen. Fitz Lee and staff were only a hundred yards further and in easy range, but for some reason were not fired on.

‡ Gen. Smith delayed the flag of truce an hour, being anxious to get the Twenty-second back into the town while Stuart submitted to the delay, as he wanted to get his rear guard up.



the town was surrendered it would be shelled in three minutes. Both flags were returned with a positive refusal to surrender, but stating that the women and children would be removed. Immediately upon the receipt of this reply, our artillery was brought up and opened fire upon the place. Two guns were posted near the angle I have mentioned, and two others upon higher ground behind them and several hundred yards distant. By this time it had gotten dark and the lieutenant in charge of the guns on the hill, mistaking the guns close to the town for a hostile battery, planted his first two shells right among our own men, and would have done more mischief if the order, "Cease firing," had not been promptly given. No attempt was made by us to storm the place, and but little skirmishing went on. The artillery fire was not severe, and, I presume, very little damage was done.\*

Exhausted by the march and nearly dead for want of sleep, I dismounted near the battery and fell asleep, undisturbed by the music of the guns.

Within an hour or two I was aroused by the glare of the burning of Carlisle barracks off to the right, and in another moment I found we were leaving by the road we came. Turning to the right we took the road to Gettysburg, marching all night, and arriving there on July 2, just in time to repel an attack of Federal cavalry on our left and rear.

The cause of Gen. Stuart's attack on Carlisle is given in his official report. (See Official Records. Series I., Vol. XXVII., Part II., page 696.) He says:

"I arrived before that village, by way of Dillsburg, in the afternoon. Our rations were entirely out. I desired to levy a contribution on the inhabitants for rations, but was informed before reaching it that it was held by a considerable force of militia (infantry and artillery), who were concealed in the buildings, with the view to entrap me upon entrance into the town. They were frustrated in their intention, and although very peaceable in external aspect, I soon found the information I had

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\* It is believed that neither General Stuart nor his officers were ever proud of his having fired on the place as he did.



received was correct. I disliked to subject the town to the consequences of an attack; at the same time it was essential to us to procure rations. I therefore directed Gen. Lee to send in a flag of truce, demanding unconditional surrender or bombardment. This was refused. I placed artillery in position commanding the town, took possession of the main avenues to the place, and repeated the demand. It was again refused, and I was forced to the alternative of shelling the place.

Although the houses were used by their sharpshooters while firing on our men, not a building was fired, except the United States cavalry barracks, which were burned by my orders, the place having resisted my advance, instead of peaceable surrender, as in the case of Gen. Ewell. Gen. Fitz Lee's Brigade was charged with the duty of investing the place, the remaining brigades following, at considerable intervals, from Dover. Maj.-Gen. W. F. Smith was in command of the forces in Carlisle. The only obstacle to the enforcement of my threat was the scarcity of artillery ammunition.

The whereabouts of our army was still a mystery; but during the night I received a dispatch from Gen. Lee (in answer to one sent by Maj. Venable, from Dover, on Early's trail), that the army was at Gettysburg, and had been engaged on this day (July 1) with the enemy's advance. I instantly dispatched to Hampton to move ten miles that night on the road to Gettysburg, and gave orders to the other brigades, with a view to reaching Gettysburg early the next day, and started myself that night.

My advance reached Gettysburg, July 2, just in time to thwart a move of the enemy's cavalry upon our rear, by way of Hunterstown, after a fierce engagement, in which Hampton's Brigade performed gallant service, a series of charges compelling the enemy to leave the field and abandon his purpose. I took my position that day on the York and Heidelberg roads, on the left wing of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The situation of affairs in Carlisle during the bombardment is rather briefly described by Gen. Wm. F. Smith in his official report. (Official Records, Vol. XXVII., Pt. II., p. 220); and



on page 224 he gives a few additional details. Gen. Smith states that we fired 134 shots, and that his battery (Landis') replied with only three.

This firing was very wild. He states our force at 3,300 men, with an interrogation mark (?). It was scarcely half of that number, as our other two brigades took no part in the investment.\*

Gen. Stuart commented in his official report—and, it would seem, with good reason—on Gen. Early's omitting to leave word for him at York, or to send him some intimation of his march to Gettysburg on the thirtieth June. He heard our guns in the fight at Hanover, and, as Gen. Stuart says, "rightly conjectured whose they were." A word from Early to Stuart would have saved us the long march to Carlisle and back to Gettysburg, and would have placed Stuart's three brigades on the field in time for the fight of the first July. And it is not improbable that if Stuart had been there that evening, Hancock would not have been given the chance to rally the retreating lines of the first and eleventh corps on Cemetery Hill.

\* \* \* \* \*

Chief among the reasons assigned by Confederate generals for the repulse of Gen. Lee's army at Gettysburg is this one: the absence of Gen. Stuart from his accustomed place in front of the army.

This absence was in no just sense imputable to any fault or delay on his part. He carried out his orders to the very letter, and nothing but the change in Gen. Lee's point of concentration, made necessary by a singular accident, prevented Stuart from joining the right wing at Carlisle. It *was there*, he had every right to expect, would be fought *the* battle of the century.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THEODORE S. GARNET,

*Late Aide-de-Camp to Gen. J. E. B. Stuart.*

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\* They were within supporting distance, and should therefore be counted as participating.





The following is an extract from the official "report of Brig.-Gen. William F. Smith, U. S. A., commanding First Division of the Susquehanna, of operations from June 26 to July 15," contained in the Rebellion Records:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION OF THE SUSQUEHANNA,  
GREENCASTLE, Pa., July 18, 1863.

MAJOR:—I have reported that, in obedience to orders from the general commanding, I assumed command of the troops south of the Susquehanna and in the vicinity of Harrisburg on Friday, June 26, and was busily engaged until Tuesday, 30, in strengthening the defences at Bridgeport, opposite the city of Harrisburg, and at Marysville, to protect the bridges of the Pennsylvania and North Central Railroads.

On Sunday a rebel cavalry force, with a section of artillery, came to our picket-line near Oyster Point and drove in our cavalry pickets, but did not succeed in moving the infantry pickets.

On Monday I sent the regular cavalry, under Lieut. (Frank) Stanwood, on the Carlisle road, and he engaged and drove in the pickets of the enemy, but was obliged to retire under a fire of artillery which was opened on him.

On Tuesday, learning that the rebel infantry had left Carlisle, the cavalry was ordered forward and found the enemy at Sporting Hill. Gen. Ewen, New York militia, in command of the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh New York State militia, went forward to support Lieut. Stanwood and a section of Landis' Battery, under the direction of Lieut. Muhlenberg, was immediately ordered up. The enemy was found in position, and attacked about 4 P. M. The artillery arrived on the ground about 5 P. M., and soon silenced the fire of the enemy.

\* \* \* \* \*

Gen. Ewen had passed through the town (Carlisle) on the Baltimore turnpike about one and a half miles, and, while going on to examine his position, word came from my scouts that a large cavalry force of the enemy was in the immediate vicinity, on



the York road, and, turning back, before I entered the village, their guns had opened upon us. The road for several miles back of us was filled with stragglers from the brigades of Gen. Ewen and Col. Brisbane, and the men with me were wearied with a long march, to which they were unused.

Under these circumstances I determined to content myself till morning with simply holding the town, but before I could get a line of skirmishers out a summons was sent by Gen. Fitz-Hugh Lee to surrender the town, or send out the women and children. I sent an answer that the women and children would be notified to leave. In less than half an hour another message was sent to the purport that, if not surrendered, the town would be burned. The answer was returned that one answer had been given. I then sent a volunteer aid, Mr. Ward of Harrisburg, to communicate with Gen. Knipe and order him to march at 3 A. M., and to report to Gen. Couch the condition of affairs. In the meantime, the enemy opened a battery on the town, to which, by my orders, our artillery did not reply, as I deemed the fire too inaccurate, and wished to save my ammunition.\*

About 11 o'clock, I sent another volunteer aid, Mr. James Dougherty, to try and get to Gen. Knipe with orders to move immediately. Mr. Dougherty was captured, and his orderly wounded, and about 12 M. a third and last summons came to surrender, to which the reply was given that the message had been twice answered before.

About 1 o'clock the firing ceased, with the exception of three guns about 3 A. M.; soon after which reports came in that the enemy was moving off on a country road which came into the turnpike about two and a half miles from Carlisle, and by daylight there was nothing opposed to us.

The casualties were twelve wounded, none fatally. Some of the citizens did good service in the skirmish line as volunteers.

Thursday, July 2, the entire command was put in near the barracks, which had been burned during the night, and on

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\* In fact several shots had been fired with the effect to drive the enemy's artillery from their first position.



Friday a train of provisions came up to Carlisle. The supplies which we could draw from the citizens were extremely limited, though every disposition to aid us was manifested.

It will be seen from the foregoing reports that the condition of affairs which the Twenty-second found on entering Carlisle was not cheering. The streets, which they had left a few hours ago filled with an enthusiastic and patriotic throng of men, women and children, were deserted; the sky was red with the flames, first from the burning gas-house, and then from the Government barracks, and the reports of the artillery and the explosion of the shells in the town made it a pandemonium.\*

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\* The following extract from the diary of Charles P. Noyes, Company G, gives the experiences of the many who had been overcome by the fatigue of the march:

"I kept up until within about four miles of Carlisle, when I suddenly became dizzy, and fell down, but got over under the fence by the roadside before I became unconscious. When I 'came to,' I found my head in Souther's lap. He helped me to the nearest house, where I washed my face (first time for two or three days). I took off my shoes, and bathed my blistered feet, and then lay down and slept awhile. I was awakened by an officer who was gathering up the stragglers, and told that my regiment was drawn up in line of battle about two miles ahead. I hurried along, as I wanted to see all the fun, and found them in line, only about one hundred strong, nearly five hundred having fallen off on the march. It was one of the hottest days ever known, and we had been since Sunday on the march, day and night, with but little sleep.

"Before reaching the city, I had fallen out again, and when I got there I found our regiment had passed on through the town. I met Sturges, and he and I walked around through the streets, ate some sandwiches in the park, where the citizens had tables spread with refreshments for us. We got up a flirtation with a couple of very nice, pretty girls. One of them, a relation of Gen. Doubleday, had asked us to go and have a cup of tea at her house near by, and we were on the way, happy as larks, when we heard the report of a cannon, and a shell flew over us. 'The Rebs are upon us.' What a panic! Men, women and children ran in every direction for shelter. Before we could collect our senses, our girls were gone, we knew not where, and have never seen them since. The shells were striking in different parts of the town, and coming pretty thick."



It was known that the force in the town could not be over 2,000 to 2,500 men, with six guns, while the attacking force was supposed to be 4,000 of the best troops in the Confederacy, with two batteries,\* so that

Leland states in his memoirs:

"I was leaning against a lamp-post when a charge of grape went through the lamp. Remembering the story in 'Peter Simple,' and that 'Lightning never strikes twice in the same place,' I remained quiet, when there came at once another, smashing what was left of the glass about two feet above my head (p. 254).

\* \* \* \* \*

"There was in our battery a young gentleman named Stuart Patterson, noted for his agreeable, refined manners. He was the gunner of our cannon No. 2. At the distance of about half a mile the rebels were shelling us. Patterson brought *his* gun to bear upon theirs, and the two exchanged shots at the same instant. Out of the smoke surrounding Patterson's gun I saw a sword-blade fly perhaps thirty feet, and then himself borne by two or three men, blood flowing profusely. The four fingers of his right hand had been cut away clean by a piece of shell (p. 256).

\* \* \* \* \*

"As we were not firing, I and the rest of the men of the gun were lying on the ground to escape the shells, but my brother, who was nothing if not soldierly and punctilious, stood upright in his place just beside me. There came a shell which burst immediately and very closely over our heads, and a piece of it struck my brother exactly on the brass buckle in his belt on the spine. The blow was so severe that the buckle was bent in two. It cut through his coat and shirt and inflicted a slight wound, two inches in length. But the blow on the spine produced a concussion or disorganization of the brain, which proved, after years of suffering, the cause of his death. At first he was quite senseless, but as he came to, and I asked him anxiously if he was hurt, he replied sternly, 'Go back immediately to your place by the gun'" (p. 257).

R. W. Gilder (now editor of the *Century*) says in a letter to Mr. Leland:

"That night, after we were told to retire out of range of the cannon, while we were lying under a tree, near one of the guns, an officer called for volunteers to take the piece out of range. I stood up with three others, but seeing and hearing a shell approach, I cried out, 'Wait a moment!'—which checked them. Just then the shell exploded within a yard of the cannon. If we had not paused some of us would surely have been hit. We then rushed out, seized the cannon and brought it out of range" (Leland's Memoirs, p. 267).

\* This is Col. King's estimate of the artillery used. There were seven batteries attached to Stuart's division.





the chances of continuing the march of the regiment *via* Richmond were quite promising. It was the greatest relief, however, to find that "Baldy" Smith was there, and in command. A well-known and veteran general, his presence inspired confidence, and he showed himself fully equal to the emergency.

The enemy were deployed along the east side of the town, with skirmishers in front. Company A (Capt. Otis) of the Twenty-second was stationed in a small, two-story house on the southeast side, which they barricaded as best they could. They filled its windows with their best shots, and were to cover the other companies and the cannon. Companies C (Capt. Post) and G (Capt. Howland) were deployed as skirmishers in a line extending north and south, and within one hundred yards of the Confederate skirmishers, with whom they occasionally exchanged shots. Then came two guns of Landis' Battery, under Lieut. Perkins, one pointing south, down the Papertown road, and protected from an expected cavalry charge by a hastily-constructed barricade composed of trucks, wagons and fence-rails and the other commanding a lane running to the east. In rear of them Companies H (Capt. Grant) and I (Capt. Gardner), under Col. Aspinwall, were lying down in a potato field, as supports, deployed into single rank, with intervals of about six feet between the men. They also prolonged the line to the southwest, so as to flank the barricade and road, and protect this part of the town.

Company F (Capt. Francis) was strengthened by an additional force from different companies of the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh, composed of men who had fallen out during the march and had come



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FIRST SECTION LANDIS' LIGHT BATTERY ON PAVERTOWN ROAD (AT CARLISLE, PA.), SUPPORTED BY  
THE TWENTY-SECOND.  
From the Painting by Powell.



into the town too late to join their companies, making together a detachment about two hundred strong. These were placed under the command of Captain Francis, and were stationed behind the heavy stone wall of the cemetery, on the east side of the town, and about 200 yards from the Confederate batteries, with orders to hold the position to the last. This wall made a strong fortification, and commanded the two roads which led into the city, and which converged at that point. The rest of the Thirty-seventh after the fire had made the square untenable, were deployed as skirmishers in front of the cemetery, with orders to fall back into the churchyard if attacked, and in the meantime to lie down and keep as quiet as possible.

The bearers of the flag of truce sent in by Gen. Lee to demand the surrender of the town, came in by one of these roads, and passed along the wall. The men holding the cemetery, however, crouched in the grass and kept out of sight.

It was remarked with great disapprobation, particularly by the officers of Landis' Battery, that the bearers of this flag of truce were brought through the town and into the square without being blindfolded. That they availed themselves of what they saw to correct their ranges, was shown by the much greater damage which was sustained when their artillery again opened.

Among the defenders of the town was a detachment from the Twelfth N. G. S. N. Y., who had been the comrades of the Twenty-second at Harper's Ferry in the preceding years.

Capt. L. K. Bingham, of Company I of that regiment, who was commanding a detachment at Miller's



Gap, had sent Lieut. Burns, with a detail of fifty men from I and B Companies, to Sterret's Gap. Among these was Edward Fackner (afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the Thirteenth N. G.). While on their way to rejoin their regiment, the detachment met Col. Brisbane's brigade on its hurried march to reënforce Gen. Ewen, and joined the column as it entered Carlisle. When the attack began, they fell in on the left of the Thirty-seventh.

The Thirty-seventh, thus reënforced, at first formed line in the square, where two guns of Landis' Battery were posted. Some of the Confederate officers had served in the United States Cavalry School at Carlisle, and were familiar with its topography. It is supposed that they inferred that the square would naturally be occupied by troops, and concentrated a heavy fire at that point. As previously stated, the battery fired a few shots, and was then withdrawn, but not until it had had several men wounded and a number of horses killed and disabled.

The infantry lay flat in the street until the fire became too heavy to allow the square to be occupied, an ordeal which they sustained like veterans. They were finally withdrawn, part of the Thirty-seventh being deployed as skirmishers as above stated, and part, with the men of the Twelfth, were put in the Court House, which they held, although it was struck by several shells, one of which blew a hole six feet square in the front of the building. The rest of the troops were sent to the outskirts or utilized in felling trees across the main streets to obstruct the charge from Stuart's renowned cavalry that was momentarily expected.





Portions of the command were "double quickened" from time to time during the night to places that were considered to be menaced (for the force was very small in comparison with the area that had to be protected), as well as to make the largest display possible.

The citizens of Carlisle showed that they were no cowards. Shortly after the shelling had commenced, and when the streets were a pandemonium, a considerable number of them, armed with shot-guns, hunting rifles and similar weapons, reported to Gen. Smith and asked to be allowed to assist in fighting for their homes. Their services were gladly accepted, and they were sent out as "bushwhackers" on the eastern side of the town. Being familiar with the ground, they were valuable as skirmishers and did effective service, which Gen. Smith recognized in his official report. There is but little doubt that they were better shots than the soldiers, for in those days soldiers, at least those from the North, could rarely shoot at all. Others placed themselves in the houses and behind the fences and walls in the different streets.\*

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\* Extracts from a letter by Prof. S. D. Hillman, in *Carlisle American*:

*"A Few Days of Rebel Rule."*

"August 5, 1863.

"The morning brought no sign of a living rebel in our midst, but it did bring some Union cavalry, and, later in the day, two or three thousand Union soldiers and several pieces of artillery from Harrisburg. They had marched twenty miles, and were tired and hungry; so as the word went out 'our soldiers want something to eat,' boys ran, men with families smiled and walked home as fast as they could—almost ran,—and soon came piles of bread and butter and pots of coffee to the market-house. Such requisitions were gladly given. \* \* \* A shrill whistling sound, such as I had read the shells made, aroused me, and I went to my roof to see and hear. One or two more ugly whistlings, together with loud cries of 'The rebels!' intimated their close and disagreeable presence. I started down the street,



The guns at the south end of the town held their fire, as it would simply have directed the shelling upon them and upon the troops that supported them. Through some mistake this order came very near being disobeyed. The gun pointing down the lane was trained upon the Confederate battery in front, and was about being fired, when Lieut. King ran up and pulled out the friction primer just in time to prevent what might have been a serious disaster. A number of the enemy's shells struck and exploded in the graveyard and cut limbs from the trees, but the mounds and monuments protected the men lying there.

The darkness kept down the firing of the skirmishers along the southern part of the town, but at the northern part, nearer the gas-house and barracks and where the burning buildings lighted up the scene, there was sharp skirmish-firing on both sides during most of the night.

Next to the cemetery the centre of excitement, at least to those near it, was the last house on the extreme southern end of the town, which was held by Company A of the Twenty-second. This was nearest to the enemy; so close that they could be plainly seen and heard.

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and it was now about 7 p. m. I saw men and women running into and behind the houses for safety, while the shot and shell flew through the streets and over the town. I hurried back, got my gun and about forty rounds, and soon met Phillips again, the fighting preacher. We agreed to go together, as the soldiers preferred our fighting by ourselves rather than in their ranks. When we reached the public square the cry was given, 'To the houses!' and into private houses and hotels, behind fences and low walls, the soldiers and citizens betook themselves, waiting and expecting the charge of the rebel cavalry through the streets; had that charge been made, some thousands of soldiers and hundreds of citizens, old and young, would have greeted them from behind doors, and from the windows and house-tops."



It was therefore used as an observatory by the officers. The writer was detailed in charge of a door, leading from the street under a grape arbor to the L, with orders that "everybody who gave two gentle raps was a friend and was to be admitted," and those who did not, were enemies. He stood there most of the night, cocked revolver in hand. As the situation became more exciting, the officers forgot all about the signal and came bolting in without rapping so that he was continually in a state of mind whether to obey orders and shoot or not to do so. He, however, assumed to exercise what lawyers call a sound discretion in the matter. As Gen. Smith, Col. Roome, Col. Aspinwall and a number of staff officers were prominent violators of their own peremptory orders, and none of the enemy attempted an entrance, he escaped criticism.

There was a small house on the west side of the road, in which, during the night, Lieut.-Col. Cox detected a spy showing a light from an upper window. He arrested him just in time, for the signal drew a fire which soon struck the chimney of the house occupied by Company A, sending the bricks flying in all directions.

A line of what appeared to be woods lying to the southeast of the town, was the cause of considerable anxiety during the night. Its edge was fringed with Confederate skirmishers, whose actions induced the belief that a force was being assembled in the woods in their rear, which would have to be driven out. An attacking party was formed at about one o'clock, composed of detachments from several different companies, while the rest of those in the neighborhood prepared to support them. But the pressure from this



point was withdrawn and the idea of attacking it was therefore abandoned. When daylight broke it was seen that the "woods," which had been seen so clearly in the night, were a mere hedgerow, and that the enemy had been merely holding it to cover the road in the rear over which they were pushing their trains to the south.

The following extract from a letter from Lieut. Samuel C. Perkins of Landis' Battery, to Col. Aspinwall, written shortly after the return of the regiment, shows the disposition made of the artillery:

The guns of my section were placed in position at the southern entrance to the town, one commanding the approach by the Papertown Road, and the other the approach by a lane which came into the road at right angles on the left alongside of a brick house and white garden fence. A barricade was thrown up in front of the piece which commanded the road. The Twenty-second Regiment, I know, or at least a large part of it, was present, supporting the artillery. I remember the disposition of the regiment, part deployed in line of battle across the road and lying down on their arms behind the gun, part behind the fence on the left of the road, and part of Capt. Otis' company placed in the brick house at the corner of the lane and road, to act as sharp shooters.

It was a trying night to all the troops, owing to the incessant watchfulness required on the part of every man to meet any attack which might be made and which was momentarily expected. The shelling of the town was continued at intervals up till 3 o'clock of the morning of July 2, all directed towards the centre of the town. The fields and underbrush to our front and left were filled with the enemy's skirmishers, who at times ventured within 100 yards of our position. We were forbidden to open fire, and some few scattering shots from skirmishers was the only firing in our immediate vicinity, and some of your men (*i. e.*, of the Twenty-second) were sent out as scouts from time to time. At one time the heads of columns were thought





to be seen advancing to attack us, and I well remember the alacrity and coolness with which the officers and men of your command sprung to attention and awaited the charge. Through the whole night there was nothing to warrant anything but commendation of their conduct.

The other two sections of our battery were stationed in the square and had several men wounded, two horses killed and several disabled by the fire of the enemy. Capt. Landis himself commanded the guns exclusively.

For the purpose of protecting the flanks, it was found requisite that outlying pickets or scouts should be sent as far out to the front as they could go, to give all the notice possible of any advance of the enemy. The service was one of such danger, and the assurance of being "gobbled" by the rebels so great, that the regular cavalry detailed for that duty refused to perform it. Col. Aspinwall, hearing of this, offered to supply their places. The offer was accepted, and a detail was made from Company D Twenty-second Regiment (which was one of those guarding the barricade across the road), which spent the entire night, without support, patrolling the approaches. For this they were specially complimented by Lieut. King, the division chief of artillery.

Why the enemy did not attack and capture the whole command, or at least try to do so, was a mystery to the members of the Twenty-second.

The newspapers had published sensational reports of the great uprising of the North, and Gen. Stuart undoubtedly supposed the whole of Couch's troops were concealed in the village, endeavoring to draw him into a trap. It is known that some of the stragglers who were picked up by the enemy had told the largest stories



they could as to the strength and powers of the "First Division."\*

It is also stated that farmers who had been asked as to the time taken for the column to pass, named so many hours that Stuart thought that the force must be a large one, not calculating that the farmers had counted the stream of worn-out men who had followed the column as fast as they regained their strength. His report page 223 ante shows that he feared that the failure to return his fire was a trap to draw him into the town.

After two hours cannonading, the firing ceased and the demand for surrender mentioned in the official reports was renewed. When it was refused, firing was re-opened.

It had now become a clear moonlight night. A portion of the artillery was so near that the commands of the officers could be distinctly heard by the companies of the Twenty-second, which were in the southern part of the town, and the incessant flash and roar of the guns, the "screech" of shells flying overhead, and the heavy

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\*Leland states: "We were saved by a good, strong, tremendous lie, well and bravely told. There was a somewhat ungainly, innocent, rustic-looking youth in our company, from whose eyes simple truth peeped out like two country girls at two Sunday-school windows. He, having been sent to the barracks to get some fodder, with strict injunctions to return immediately, of course, lay down at once in the hay and had a good, long nap. The rebels came and routed him out, but promised to let him go free on condition that he would tell the sacred truth as to how many of us Federal troops were in Carlisle. And he, moved by sympathy for his kind captors, and swearing by the Great Copperhead Serpent, begged them to fly for their lives— 'for twenty regiments of regulars, and Heaven only knows how many volunteers, had come in that afternoon, and the whole North was rising, and trains running, and fresh levies pouring in.'" (Leland Memoirs, pp. 253, 254.)



jar of their explosion among the buildings in the rear, seemed strangely inconsistent with the calm beauty of the scene. At times it seemed doubtful whether the incessant uproar was really the bombardment of a quiet village; for, during the momentary pauses of the cannonade, the chirp of the katydid, and the other peaceful sounds of a country summer night, were heard as though nature could not realize that human beings had sought that quiet spot to destroy each other.

It must not be supposed that any such sentiment, or, in fact, any sentiment whatever, was exhibited on the part of the Twenty-second. On the contrary, for as soon as it became evident that no immediate attack would be made, the men (with the exception of the patrols and skirmishers), whether crouching at the house windows, or lying on their faces in the wet grass, went to sleep with a unanimity charming to witness.

They had been told not to sleep, on peril of their lives, but they were so worn out that they could not keep awake, so that finally one-half the men were permitted to sleep while the other half watched.\*

That they were able to do this was largely owing to the inefficiency of the artillery practice. The Confederate guns had been placed upon a ridge overlooking the town, and, in the dark, fired high, particularly before the flag of truce was sent in, so that the shells, with the exception of those directed into the square, went over the outskirts of the town where the troops were stationed.

Some time before dawn preparations were made to

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\* The hardest thing of all was to keep the men awake; and even the skirmishers, so near the enemy's battery that they could see every motion and hear every order given by them, had to keep passing words down the line in a whisper to keep them awake. • • • Pearce's Tribune correspondence.



receive the attack, which it was expected would be made as soon as the first streak of daylight disclosed the position and strength, or rather weakness, of the besieged. Officers bustled nervously around, the sleepers were cautiously awakened, and all stood to arms, with the stern determination to resist to the bitter end. Much to their gratification, the announcement that the rebels had retreated, gave them an opportunity to look around and ascertain the damages.

From the constant uproar, the screams, the report of the bursting shells, the glare of the flames, the smashing of buildings, and the other sounds incident to a bombardment, which had greeted the ears of the Twenty-second during the preceding night, they had generally expected that the morning would show the town to be a heap of ruins, and the great majority, both of troops and inhabitants, bleeding in the streets.

Never was there a greater mistake. It was really wonderful to think that so much cold iron could be fired into an inhabited place, and cause so little loss of life and limb. To be sure, much property had been destroyed, any amount of houses struck, many greatly damaged. One had a hole blown into it, so it could be seen where a shell had passed into a room and had exploded under a bed. The roofs and windows generally looked dilapidated enough. But, as in the other bombardments of the war, the destruction had been far from universal, and the loss of life small.

The citizens, concealed in the cellars, and the soldiers, lying flat behind the cemetery walls and in the fields, had almost entirely escaped the iron tempest. Shells had gone under and over any amount of people,





but had really hit very few. Some of the townspeople were hurt, but the exact number is unknown. Some of the reserves who were in the streets suffered considerably. The Thirty-seventh, always unlucky, had some hurt; while the Twenty-second, with more than their usual good fortune, got off with one or two slightly hurt. J. W. Morton (B Company) had his foot cut by a piece of shell, but he was the only one who was injured enough to go to the hospital. Capt. A. B. Gardner (I) while going through the town with a message to General Smith was struck in the leg and was obliged to ride on horseback for a few days, General Ewen having furnished him a horse and temporarily attached him to his staff. The townspeople gave to the newspaper correspondents the names of one killed and sixteen wounded among our troops. This, however, only included those who went into the hospitals. Private Scott, of Landis' Battery, died of his wounds. One caisson had a wheel shot away, and ten or twelve horses were wounded, four of which had to be killed or abandoned.

The Confederate loss is unknown, but was supposed to have been considerable.

One of Landis' Battery, who was taken prisoner at the barracks, reported that the few shots that had been fired had been so accurate that the enemy were obliged to move their guns into an adjoining field, out of range. One shell struck a tree alongside of their battery, another dismounted one of their guns, and a third, exploding over a gun, killed and wounded eight men, and stampeded their horses.

The following account of the damage done to the



town is taken from the account written for the *Carlisle American* by Prof. S. D. Hillman:

Shells exploded in houses and in the streets. Main Street, in which one of our batteries was placed, was raked by grape and shell and solid shot. In the midst of the firing could be heard the wailing of frightened women and screaming of children running about the town seeking places out of reach of the enemy's shot; but most of the families had taken to their cellars, and this saved their lives. It was an artillery duel nearly altogether. Sixteen of our soldiers were wounded; none killed.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Episcopal church received several shots. One shell burst in the Presbyterian church. Some of the houses the balls passed clean through; in others they passed the first wall and burst inside, shattering doors and destroying furniture. The vacation of the upper rooms alone saved life. Several houses received each from four to six shells or heavy shot. Along the central street of the town the trees and doorsteps are marked by grape, and doors and windows and walls scarred by exploded shell. One ball, shot at an angle with the college wall, cut the stile off the window-shutter, passed in, struck the window jamb of the stone wall, exploded and tore out about two cubic feet of stone and mortar, broke down a door and covered the floor of the room with stone, splinters of wood and mortar.

\* \* \* \* \*

Hundreds of females were on the street looking at and carrying food to the newly-arrived soldiers when the shells began to fall among them. It seems like a miracle that they escaped. From careful inquiry I estimate that about twenty shells exploded inside of private dwellings.

Capt. Asa Bird Gardner (subsequently Assistant Judge Advocate-General U. S. A.) subsequently received a medal of honor from the Government for his services on this occasion.

When daylight broke the detachment that occupied the southern house "fell in," but only to be confronted



with a novel adversary. The female proprietor appeared and viewed with a housekeeper's consternation the condition of her home. No particular harm had been done, but the furniture was piled in the corners, the beds rolled up and placed at the windows to protect the sharp-shooters, the carpets were covered with mud, and the place looked as if a cyclone had struck it. It must also be confessed that all the bread and some preserves were missing. Planting herself in the hall, she announced that "not a man should leave that house until she had been all over it and seen just what damage had been done." The spectacle of one woman, however angry, facing seventy armed soldiers was peculiar. Capt. Otis tried to expostulate, but without avail; the lady held her position. So he ended the discussion by the command "forward march," at which the company shouldered past the irate lady, leaving her still scolding.

On the afternoon of July 1, Gen. Knipe's brigade, consisting of the Eighth and Seventy-first, N. Y. N. G., marched from Bridgeport in support of Gen. Ewen, and was followed by the rest of the division. Gen. Knipe being an experienced officer, they started with two days' cooked rations, knapsacks and blankets, and were allowed halts. At 10 o'clock they camped in a field thirteen miles from Carlisle, and witnessed the bombardment, expecting that the town would be captured.

If they had marched towards the firing and come in upon Stuart's rear, they would have accomplished great results. Gen. Ewen states in his official report:

We remained at Carlisle during the second and third of July. The Eleventh Regiment, N. G., rejoined my command at the latter date, having arrived with the remaining troops of the division,



consisting of three regiments, N. G. S. N. Y. of New York City, under command of Brig.-Gen. Knipe, three regiments, composing the Eleventh Brigade, N. G. S. N. Y. of Brooklyn, commanded by Brig.-Gen. Jesse C. Smith, and a section of Landis' Battery \*—the whole under the command of Gen. Knipe.

This column, it appears by the annexed communication from Gen. Jesse C. Smith, left Fort Washington for Carlisle on the afternoon of the day my command marched from Oyster Point, July 1, arriving on the 3. They "heard heavy firing in the direction of Carlisle" before halting, and saw "the light from the burning barracks at that place." The column halted about 9 o'clock at night, "Gen. Knipe going forward to see if he could get communication with Gen. W. F. Smith, then at Carlisle, about thirteen miles distant, and did not return until 2 o'clock in the morning. At 3 o'clock, Gen. Couch, pursuant to whose directions my command of two small regiments, about 900 men and two field pieces, had been ordered to follow up the enemy the preceding night, without rations or blankets, and while deemed to be engaged with the enemy, sent peremptory orders for this command to return to Fort Washington. It is but just, however, to Gen. Couch to say, that at the time of giving such orders, it was too late for this force to render any assistance to the troops at Carlisle. Had it, however, gone forward promptly, and quietly entered the town during the bombardment, as it might unquestionably have done several hours before the retirement of the enemy, it could, as a separate disposable force, have been instrumental in surprising and effectively destroying or capturing the enemy, who could have been surprised and attacked on his left flank or rear from the south side of the town at any time before his retirement. Being a cavalry force hemmed in by the road, a single available regiment might have approached it very closely under cover of the darkness and poured in upon it a very destructive fire."

The division was awakened at 2 A. M. the next morning and marched back towards Harrisburg three miles,

\* This was an error for Miller's Houston Battery (Report of Gen. Jesse C. Smith). Landis' Battery was in Carlisle during the attack.





there probably being doubt which way Stuart was going and as to whether Carlisle was not taken. They spent most of July 2 waiting, during which time the men were allowed to scatter all over the country, and in the afternoon instead of being pushed forward as they should have been were marched further north and encamped. On July 3, they were finally marched to Carlisle, which they reached at sunset.

This, as subsequent events proved, was a waste of valuable time, as Gen. Smith could not move without them, and the delay probably prevented his reënforcing Meade at Gettysburg.

The following report from Gen. Haupt to Gen. Hallock shows that the former had accurately grasped the situation and the necessity of hanging upon the rear of the enemy, however great the risk:

Gen. H. Haupt, Superintendent of Railroads, to Gen Hallock:

HARRISBURG, July 1, 1863, 6 A. M.

\* \* \* \* \*

I found that there had been some skirmishing near Harrisburg yesterday, that the forces gathered for the protection of the place amounted to 16,000 men, and that information in regard to the movements, position and numbers of the enemy, and arrangements for keeping advised of the same, were apparently reliable.

It appears to have been the intention of the enemy to attack Harrisburg yesterday. Our forces, supposed to have been Pleasanton's, were resisting their movements, and, T. A. Scott said, had actually succeeded in retarding the advance on Harrisburg, and compelled a retreat. I thought I saw a much more decisive and important move on the tapis.

Lee had received information of the removal of Hooker,  
\* \* \* and by suddenly concentrating and falling upon



Meade he could be crushed, when Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia would all be at the mercy of the enemy.

That those at Harrisburg anticipated the capture of the brigade at Carlisle, appears from the official correspondence. At 9:15 P. M., on July 1, Gen. Hallock telegraphed to Gen. Couch from the War Department at Washington :

There seems to be a strong probability of a battle not far from Emmitsburg. It is to be hoped that you will assist Gen. Meade by operating on the enemy's left flank or left rear towards Gettysburg.

Gen. Couch replied:

HARRISBURG, July 1, 1863.

Dispatch received. I have sent out a force in the direction of Carlisle. It has been attacked by a body of cavalry, at least, and just now things do not look well.

In fact, it appears from his correspondence, and still more from his actions, that Gen. Couch was quite inclined to look upon the gloomy side of things, and it would appear that he could have accomplished much more with his command, unorganized as most of it was, if he had displayed more boldness.

The repulse of Lee at Carlisle was very welcome to the authorities; the more so as the foregoing telegram from Gen. Couch shows that it was unexpected. Gen. Thomas, who had been sent to Harrisburg to represent the War Department, telegraphed to Secretary Stanton, at 4:30 P. M., on July 2, as follows :

It having been ascertained that the rebels in front of this place were falling back, Gen. Smith, yesterday morning, moved up the Cumberland Valley, with some 2,000 infantry and a battery of artillery, and reached Carlisle, which he found evacuated. Fifteen minutes thereafter, his scouts reported the enemy ad-



vancing on the York and Carlisle turnpike. He concentrated his force in the town, where the enemy attacked him about 8 o'clock.

The force proved to be a cavalry one, with some artillery, under Fitz-Hugh Lee, who, it is said, expected to find the place occupied by rebels.

Three several times Lee, by flag of truce, demanded its surrender, which was as often refused. There was constant skirmishing and heavy artillery fire. At 10 p. m., Lee fired the barracks, which were destroyed. About 2 he retired on the Baltimore turnpike, toward Papertown.

Our loss was trifling, though they may have taken some prisoners from the many stragglers on the march.

Gen. Smith's aid, Lieut. Dougherty, in endeavoring to communicate with Gen. Couch, was captured. Gen. Knipe's force, some 2,000, with a most indifferent battery of artillery, which encamped some nine miles in advance of this, joined Gen. Smith to-day.

As soon as it was definitely known that the rebels had retreated, the brigade, at 5 A. M., dispensing with the little formality of breakfast, marched to the top of a hill, about a mile south of the town, and formed line of battle in an oat-field. As soon as this was done, the men, exhausted by the twenty-five miles' march of the preceding day, the fatigue of the night, and the want of sleep for several previous days, with one accord, lay down in the blazing sun, and slept till late in the afternoon.

About 4 o'clock, some breakfast (or rather supper), in the shape of a little pork and potatoes, was issued; but just as the men were getting ready to eat, the dulcet notes of the "Assembly" burst upon their unwilling ears, and they had to "fall in." Of course they obeyed; but, not relishing the idea of marching away from the only meal that had been seen for twenty-four



hours (a thing which they had been compelled to do more than once before), a universal dash was made at the pans; and the regiment fell in, and marched off, every man with a piece of pork in one hand and a potato in the other, eating away for dear life, and forming a *tout ensemble* not often equalled. The regiment then marched to an open field near the ruined barracks, and about a mile from the town, where it slept all night without shelter, the rain pouring down in torrents. As most were without shelter tents or blankets, this was far from agreeable. During the afternoon some trains arrived from Harrisburg.

With the exception of a little picket duty, the next day was devoted, by all hands, to the most energetic resting. A sutler arrived, and his stock disappeared like magic. To some the day was blessed by the receipt of their knapsacks, haversacks, overcoats and rubber blankets (which had been sent on from Harrisburg). Happy few! But their joy only made more melancholy the condition of the great majority, whose portables still remained behind, safely stowed in Harrisburg—so safely that, as far as the owners were concerned, they might as well have been in New York. In fact, the owners of one-half of them never found them again. The few who received their knapsacks only took a few essentials, and left them, merely carrying a blanket or overcoat rolled. In truth, from the commencement of their “two-hours’” march until the regiment arrived in New York (just three weeks), neither officers nor privates were ever enabled to change even their underclothing, but soaked by day and steamed by night in the clothes they wore when they started; which, consequently, in no very long time, assumed an indescrib-





able color and condition. Many managed, by hook or by crook, during the subsequent marches, to beg, borrow, or "win" some rubber blankets. But at least one in six were without that indispensable article, whose absence renders life on the march "a lengthened misery long drawn out." More than one in four were without overcoats. Plates there were practically none; spoons were very scarce; and such things as forks, combs and even soap could not be procured. Soap, for instance, it would be thought, could be obtained anywhere; but, unfortunately, the Confederates were short of soap themselves, and, immediately on entering a place, proceeded to appropriate every square inch of that article that could be found therein, so that when the Twenty-second came along a few days afterward, nothing saponaceous could be obtained for love or money.

The stay of the Twenty-second in Carlisle was pleasant—*very* pleasant,—for, in addition to the hospitable treatment its members received as individuals, the regiment was honored by the presentation of a flag from the ladies of the city, which has since been known and valued as the "Carlisle Flag." Later these same ladies presented Gen. "Baldy" Smith with a silver urn.

Some reconnoitering parties were pushed out to the front, and a few of the men made individual reconnaissances. The enemy's cavalry were found in force a few miles out. One of the patrols got far enough out to witness a lively cavalry skirmish between some of our cavalry and the Confederates. Sergt. Charles G. Dobbs (F Co.) secured a sabre dropped in the contest, which he managed, some way, to bring home, and which constitutes at the present time one of his most cherished possessions.



## CHAPTER XXI.

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### MOVING TO INTERCEPT LEE'S ARMY.

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THE rest of the troops and the much-needed supplies having arrived, the following orders were issued:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SUSQUEHANNA, }  
HARRISBURG, July 3, 1863. }

*General Orders No. 10.*

This command will march to-morrow morning at daylight, reveille to be sounded at 3 A. M. Gen. Knipe, with his command, will have the advance, Col. Brisbane second and Gen. Ewen in the rear. Capt. Landis' Battery will march at the head of the column, with Gen. Knipe, Capt. Miller's Battery, behind Col. Brisbane's command. A rear-guard will be detailed from each brigade to pick up stragglers and will not allow any men from the command in front to fall to the rear.

By order of

BRIG.-GEN. WM. F. SMITH,  
SAMUEL CAREY, *A. A. General.*

Accordingly, at six o'clock on the glorious Fourth of July, without seeing as much as a single fire-cracker, or hearing an allusion to the American Eagle, or the flag of our Union, the regiment turned its back on civilization and marched towards Gettysburg, where, although unknown to the command, the greatest battle of the War was raging. Gen. Smith having previously detailed



the Twenty-second to remain as a guard for the city, it came very near being ingloriously left behind. But, at the urgent request of Col. Aspinwall, and to the infinite gratification of its members, it was permitted to accompany the column to the front.

The Twenty-second now formed a portion of the First Division Department of the Susquehanna, commanded by Gen. W. F. (Baldy) Smith, which was composed as follows:

#### FIRST BRIGADE.

Brig.-Gen. Joseph F. Knipe, an experienced volunteer officer.

Eighth N. G. S. N. Y., Col. J. G. Varian, New York City.

Seventy-First N. G. S. N. Y., Col. Benj. F. Trafford, New York City.

#### SECOND BRIGADE.

Brig.-Gen. P. St. George Crooke, Brooklyn, N. G. Thirteenth N. G. S. N. Y., Brooklyn, Col. John B. Woodward.

Twenty-eighth N. G. S. N. Y., Col. David A. Bokee.

#### THIRD BRIGADE.

Brig.-Gen. Jesse C. Smith, Brooklyn N. G.

Twenty-third N. G. S. N. Y., Brooklyn, Col. Wm. Everdell.

Fifty-second N. G. S. N. Y., Brooklyn, Col. Wm. Cole.

Fifty-sixth N. G. S. N. Y., Brooklyn, Col. John Q. Adams.



## CAVALRY.

Pennsylvania Cavalry (two companies).  
Regular Cavalry from Carlisle Barracks.

## ARTILLERY.

Pennsylvania (First Philadelphia Light) Battery,  
Capt. Henry D. Landis, 6 guns.

Pennsylvania Battery, Capt. E. Spencer Miller, 4  
howitzers.

## FOURTH BRIGADE.

Brig.-Gen. John Ewen, New York N. G.

Eleventh N. G. S. N. Y., New York City, Col.  
Joachim Maidoff.

Twenty-second N. G. S. N. Y., New York City,  
Col. Lloyd Aspinwall.

Thirty-seventh N. G. S. N. Y., New York City,  
Col. Chas. Roome.

## FIFTH BRIGADE.

Col. Wm. Brisbane, Pennsylvania N. G.

Sixty-eighth N. G. S. N. Y., Fredonia, Col. David S.  
Forbes.

Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Militia, Gray Reserves,  
Col. James Chamberlain.

Thirty-second Pennsylvania Militia, Col. Chas. S.  
Smith, Reserves.

Thirty-third Pennsylvania Militia, Col. W. W. Taylor  
Reserves.

## SIXTH BRIGADE.

Col. Jacob G. Frick, Pennsylvania N. G.

Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania Militia, Col. Jacob G.  
Frick.

Thirty-first Pennsylvania Militia, Col. John New-  
kumer.





From this time until their return, the adventures of the Twenty-second became identical with those of the remainder of the division.

It has often been a subject of comment as to why, when the fortune of the Union was trembling in the balance at Gettysburg, this Division of 9,000 troops had been allowed to remain doing nothing at or near Carlisle and but twenty miles from the battlefield, from the second to the fourth of July.

If the battle was lost and Lee pushed northward, they could do nothing to stop his victorious army. On the other hand, if pushed forward, they would have constituted a valuable reënforcement to the hard pressed Army of the Potomac, and, coming up, as they would have done, on the rear or flank of the Confederates, might have turned their defeat into a rout. Still, until Meade had caught up with Lee's army, Couch had a tremendous problem to hold the line of the Susquehanna, as he was expected to do. Meade's communications with Couch were unreliable, and he did not pretend to interfere with him. Couch was "nervous," and not without reason, in regard to letting his forces, most of which were undisciplined, venture too far from his fortified lines. Meade states in his report to Gen. Hallock of June 29 (Vol. 27, Rebellion Records, p. 67):

If Lee is crossing the Susquehanna, I shall rely upon Gen. Couch with his force holding him until I can fall upon his rear and give him battle, which I shall endeavor to do. \* \* \*  
Telegraphic communications have been cut off. \* \* \* I can at present give no orders to Gen. Schenck's Department in Baltimore, or the Potomac in my rear, and, on account of the great distance of Couch, exercise any influence by advice or otherwise concerning the operations of that force. These cir-



cumstances are beyond my control. On June 30, he telegraphed Gen. Couch \* \* \* "we shall push to your relief or the engagement of the enemy, as circumstances and the information we receive during the day and on the march may indicate. \* \* \* I am anxious to hear from you."\*

On July 3, Gen. Smith telegraphed to Gen. Couch from Carlisle:

I do not think it possible to march at 12, and with these troops it would be no saving. I need only what I have sent for, and two or three wagons. I think some, which you have furnished me, have deserted. As you send militia here, I shall leave no regiment here unless you so direct.

My ammunition has not yet come up, and I don't know if my ordnance officer knows enough to bring it. If Reno has returned and would like to come, please send for him.

In the meantime the authorities at Washington were restive under the delay, as they had reason to be.

At 1 P. M., on July 3, 1863, Gen. Hallock telegraphed to Gen. Couch:

As Lee is concentrating his forces near Gettysburg, against Meade, all your available forces should be thrown forward to the assistance of our main army.

Probably this assistance can be best rendered by moving rapidly on Lee's left flank, compelling him to make detachments.

Gen. Couch telegraphed to Gen. Smith, July 3:

Hallock is anxious for me to send a force to operate by rapid marches on Lee's flank, in order to distract them, etc. Your movement in the direction spoken of will, of course, be *just the thing*. Keep me advised as to the road, and about your supplies, your line of march, etc. My opinion is, if you go far, you will have to live on what the rebels have left, and in case you are cut off, strike for the mountains or some of the fords.

Please let me know, if you can, your force in number.

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\* See page 273 post.



On July 3, Gen. Thomas telegraphed to Secretary Stanton from Harrisburg :

Have sent the telegram to Gen. Meade to Gen. Hallock. To-night or early to-morrow, Gen. Smith moves from Carlisle, with force increased to 9,000, toward Cashtown.

Secretary Stanton, however, was far from pleased, and on July 4, 1863, telegraphed Gen. Thomas :

The delay of Gen. Couch in not pushing Smith forward with more promptness to co-operate with Meade, has occasioned some disappointment here. I hope it is susceptible of satisfactory explanation.

Gen. Smith states in his report that on July 3 :

The troops were waiting for provisions, the supply trains having been prevented from arriving by the occupation of the road by the enemy on the first and second of July. The attempt to procure provisions from the citizens was only partially successful. Supplies arrived by railroad on the evening of the third.

It would certainly seem that these supplies might have been pushed forward the day before, or gotten somewhere else, even if they had to be taken from the people, and that, under the circumstances, the troops should have been pushed forward and lived on the country as they afterwards were obliged to do so.

It is true that the country beyond Harrisburg was swept clear of the few horses that had not been "run off" over the Susquehanna, and had been stripped of supplies by the enemy. Yet at Harrisburg horses were a drug in the market. There it would seem as if a little energy could have organized some kind of a wagon-train, particularly after it was known that the division was going to a region where it could not find supplies.



## CHAPTER XXII.

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### THE MOUNTAIN PASSES.

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THE division marched directly south by the Gettysburg pike towards Mount Holly, a pass in the South Mountain, thirteen miles from Gettysburg, the leading brigade starting at daylight.

The day was clear and beautiful, the roads good, and as the Twenty-second reached the mountains, the scenery became magnificent. Five miles out the command obtained a view of the range with which it was soon to become familiar. It stretched across its path, a few miles ahead, like an enormous and apparently impassable barrier. At its base was Papertown, composed of a large mill and a few houses, the inhabitants of which cheered the troops enthusiastically. Stuart's Cavalry had preceded them but two days, and the road was marked by the hoof-prints of their horses. Gen. Smith himself directed the progress, and everything seemed propitious. By noon, the regiment had accomplished twelve miles, almost without fatigue, and took its noon-day rest (for, being under Gen. Smith's direct supervision, the proper rests were enforced), in the shade of the woods which fringed one of the mountain passes, where the steep sides were within one hundred feet of each





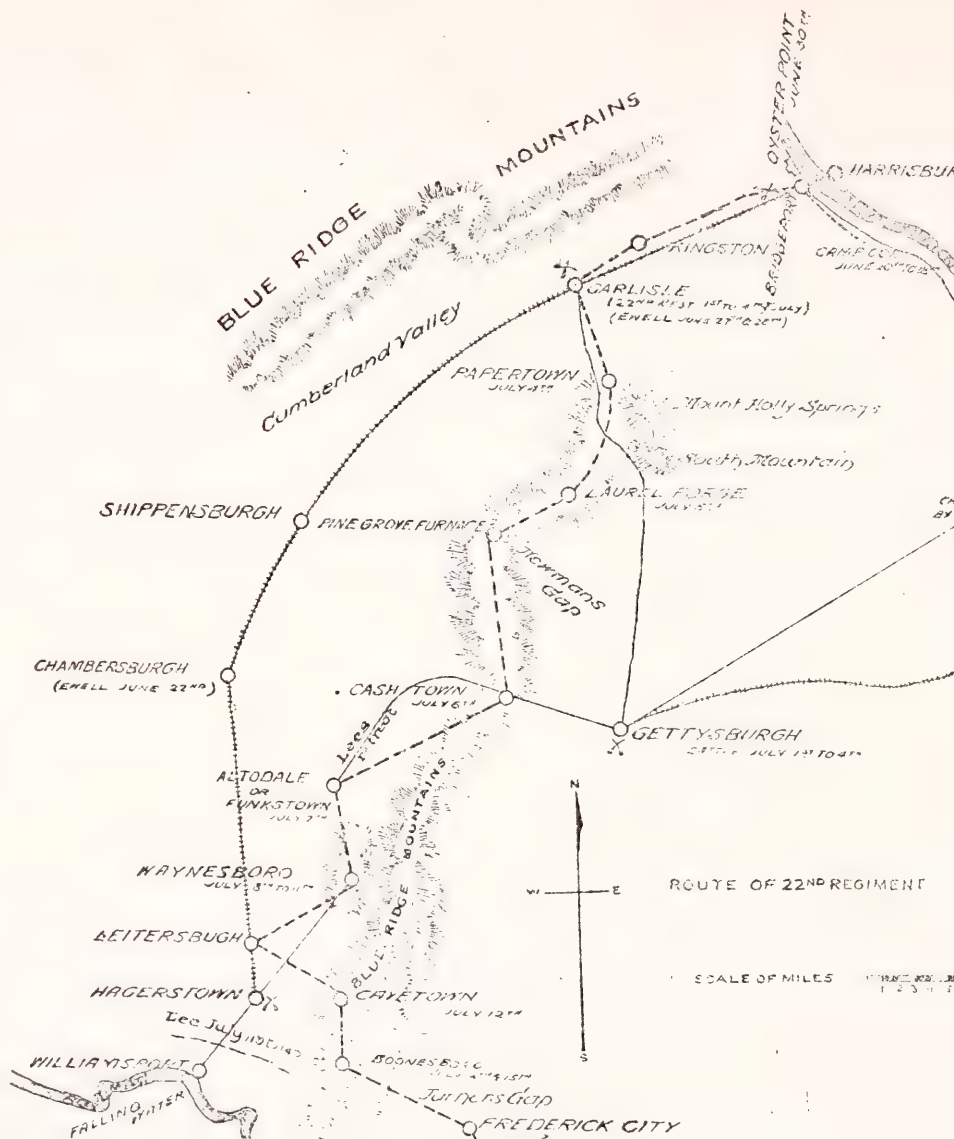
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other at the base, part of which was occupied by a brook and the remainder by the road. Here the command eagerly sought information about the battle (which they now learned was in progress) from a few venturesome countrymen who had pushed out to see it, and reported the most terrible carnage—"the dead lying in heaps." Soon information was had from authentic sources. A detachment of two thousand paroled prisoners (principally of the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac), captured in the first day's fight at Gettysburg, among whom were Capt. Dougherty, of Gen. Smith's staff, and a number of stragglers from Smith's division who had been picked up by Gen. Stuart on the Carlisle road, here encountered the column, having been sent in under a flag of truce. Gen. Smith was forced to halt to accept them, as he did not wish their escort to learn the strength of his command. This, however, not only involved a delay of two hours, but gave a clue to his perilous movement, which was extremely disagreeable.

In a telegram sent by Gen. Couch to Gen. Meade from Harrisburg, on July 4, 1863, he states :

Gen. (W. F.) Smith's advance in the mountain passes beyond Mount Holly met 2,000 paroled prisoners from your army, under escort. Smith, *being discovered*, received the prisoners. I will send them to camp at West Chester.

From the First Corps men it was learned that the division was but a short day's march from the battlefield, and would probably be able to turn the scale of victory if it arrived in time. The prisoners from Gettysburg all reported that Gen. McClellan was again in command of the Army of the Potomac. This now seems singular. Yet it is unquestioned that the popularity at



that time of "Little Mac" in the Army of the Potomac caused some of those in authority, to give out on the eve of the battle, that he had been reinstated to encourage their men. The Twenty-second did not learn for several days that their real commander was Meade, and then did not know who he was.

So eagerly were the members of the regiment engaged in discussing the chances of the battle, and seeking to reconcile the different accounts received, that no one noticed a change in the weather until the rapid drift of black clouds overhead and the dull sighing of the trees warned all that rain was close at hand. In the midst of hurried preparations, it came—not a rain, but a deluge. The lightning was blinding, the thunder deafening.\* Hour after hour, in steady perpendicular sheets, the rain descended, so that at times the sides of the gap were invisible. Water flowed down the mountain slopes in sheets. In a short time the brook was a torrent and the road through the gap two feet deep in water. In vain were all the ingenious shelters devised by the men. All were soon penetrated, and officers and men were soaked to the skin. In front, bridges rendered insecure and fords impassable, showed the effect the cannonading at Gettysburg had on the weather. The exchange of prisoners having been completed, the division left the main road and moved by a country road in the midst of the rain to Laurel Forge, except the Thirty-seventh, which remained to watch the Gettysburg and Carlisle turnpikes. The advance pushed on and crossed the ford over the Yellow Breeches Creek, known on

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\* Gen. Smith states in his report, "A most furious rain-storm set in which raised the creeks, carried away the bridges and made the march toilsome in the extreme."





the maps as "Mountain Brook." But by the time the Twenty-second reached it, which was about dusk, the creek was no longer fordable, and the regiment was obliged to wait for some time before it was safe to attempt to cross. The infantry and artillery eventually succeeded, but the baggage-wagons, few as they were, were unable to cross, and stayed behind; thereby acquiring a habit of doing so, which subsequently interfered very seriously with the comfort of the command. Lieut. Woodruff Jones, of Landis' Battery, states in his report :

The battery was immediately preceded by the Gray Reserves and followed by the Twenty-third Brooklyn regiment. About one-half of this latter regiment had gotten across a bridge when it was carried away by the flood and two of the men swept down the mountain and were with difficulty rescued from drowning. The regiment was thus divided until the next morning. A baggage-wagon belonging to Company D, Gray Reserves, was also carried away, the horses drowned, the wagon broken up and the contents lost. The baggage-wagon of the battery, loaded with ammunition and extra rations, cooking utensils, etc., broke down, owing to the pole snapping. A new pole was obtained the next morning and assistance was sent back, but the horses having in the meantime died from exposure and fatigue, we were obliged to abandon it and contents on the mountain.

After long waiting, the waters subsided a little, and the regiment, drenched to the skin, but glad enough to get anywhere, if it was only away from those woods, pushed rapidly forward, over flooded roads, gullied by the rain, and reached what was called "the ford."

The popular idea of a "ford" is a clear, shallow sheet of water, more or less broad—at least they ex-



pected to see something of the kind. The actual "ford" they marched up to was a thick wood, filled with tangled thickets, logs, and the nameless floating things of a freshet, through which a mountain torrent, a hundred yards wide, tore and plunged like a mad thing. An hour before, it would have been madness to cross; but now, by felling a few trees across the deepest holes, it had been rendered possible, though exceedingly difficult, to get over. With trousers rolled up as high as they could be coaxed (an unnecessary performance, as they were already soaking wet), and cartridge-boxes and guns held aloft, the troops plunged in, and pushed across as best they could.

This involved climbing over the stumps, balancing along the slippery and unsteady logs which bridged the holes where the current was too swift and deep to be waded, creeping gingerly, with bare legs, through thorny thickets, and anon struggling, waist-deep, through the turbid stream, whose rapid current was filled with floating logs, which inflicted most grievous whacks on the nether extremities of the forders, besides rendering it almost impossible to stand without assistance.



*Crossing the ford at Green Branch Creek -  
July 4 1863*



Notwithstanding the unpleasantness of the operation, the frequent duckings, and the no less frequent bruises from stumps and floating timber, the sight was so supremely ridiculous that the misery was forgotten in the fun. Roars of laughter greeted those unfortunates—and their name was legion—who, in their endeavor to keep piece, cartridge-box, coat-tails and other “impediments” out of the water, forgot about their footing, until they were reminded by a plunge from a slippery log head over ears, into the depths of the stream, that if that was lost everything went with it. Part way over the ford the head of a drowned horse and a projecting wagon-tongue marked where a commissary wagon had come to grief, and warned the men to be careful.

A short distance from the ford a halt was ordered, to collect the men as they struggled over, each company building huge fires, and trying to render themselves a little less uncomfortable. Vain thought! Scarcely had the fires begun to throw a cheerful light on the scene, when “Brigade, forward!” was heard from the front; and, turning their backs on the comforts they had hoped for, the command squattered up the road. “Squattered” is rather a singular word, but it is the only one available to describe the manner of progression up this mountain road in that storm. But from henceforth the brigade was to become familiar with the unfrequented and sparsely-settled roads and passes of the Blue Ridge. And such a road as this one was! Considered a bad road in fine weather, in a region where there are no good roads, the most vivid imagination fails to depict its present condition. It wound along half-way up the side of a mountain. The steady pour of the rain



had filled up every gulley, and made a mud-lake of every hole. In addition, every once in a while a torrent came rushing down from the woods above, cutting the roads into all sorts of hollows and trenches as it swept across, and plunging off upon the other side into the valley beneath. It consequently presented every combination of evils which could appall a weary traveller. Along this road, mill-race, slough, stone-bed—for it was all of these by turns—the Twenty-second pushed forward; but the pen fails in the endeavor to describe that march. Many things they have suffered and been jolly over, but it is unanimously voted that “for good, square misery,” the night of the fourth of July, 1863, has been equalled by few and excelled by none in the annals of the regiment or the experiences of its members.

“Poor fellows,” said Col. Aspinwall, as he rode by, his horse jaded so that it could hardly struggle through the mud, “I am sorry for you, but we *must* push forward.”

As a pitchy blackness rendered everything invisible, a lantern was carried at the head of the column to prevent those in the rear from being lost. Every few minutes the men would find themselves plunged into a mountain stream running across the road, and which could be heard falling an indefinite distance down the other side. Wading across this, they would be struggling knee-deep in mud of an unequalled tenacity; and their efforts to extricate themselves often resulted in getting tripped up by projecting roots and stumps. As those in front reached an obstacle, they passed the word down the line, “Stump!” “Ford!” “Stones!” “Mud-hole!” Frequently this latter cry became altered to





“Man in a mud-hole!” “Two men in a mud-hole—look out sharp!” The road was a stiff clay, lower than the banks, and held the water that did not run over the side, so that it was churned up into a pasty mass almost knee-deep, in which many lost their shoes.

The only way in which it was possible to move was by following exactly one's file-leader. If he was lost sight of, one was helpless. Yet, amid all these difficulties, the regiment continued its march with a calm despair that was prepared for anything.

At 11 o'clock at night the head of the regiment halted *per force*—stuck in the mud. Even the officers' horses were too tired to go another step. The brigade itself was lost, scattered for the last three miles, wherever a turn or twist in the road had hid the guiding lamp. Less than two companies were in the column, and many of their number had been left in the various mud “wallows” on the way. All were perfectly exhausted, so the two leading companies camped where they stood. Such camping-ground is seldom selected, but it was Hobson's choice—that or none.

Imagine a swampy, water-soaked, spongy compound of moss and mud, where the foot sank ankle-deep, covering a bank some twenty feet in width, which extended from the dense woods to the muddy road; no fence, no house for miles; every bit of wood and brush so soaked that one might as well have tried to start a fire with paving stones; an idea may be formed of the cheerful place in which the men lay down, tired, hungry, muddy and wet as water could make them, to enjoy (?) a little sleep. At about 1 o'clock it commenced to rain—heavens, how it did rain! It takes considerable to

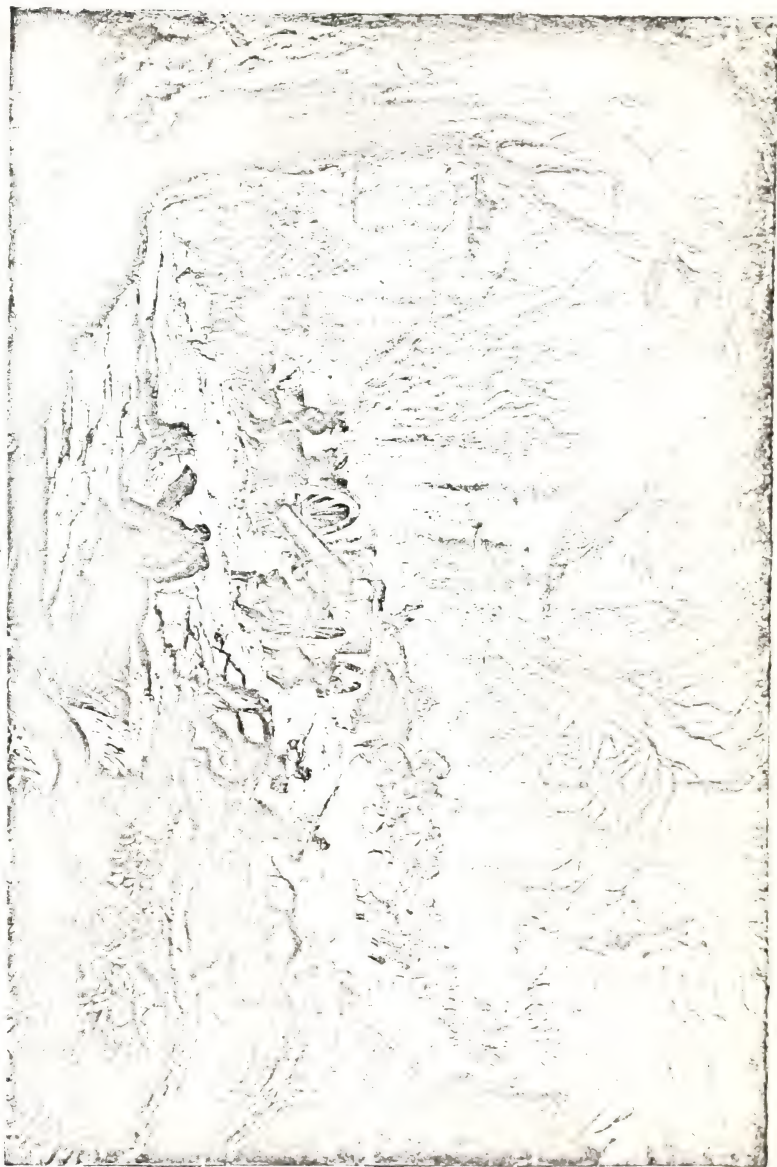


arouse men as tired and worn out as those that lay around in that swamp. But one by one they got up with the melancholy confession that "the rain was once more too many for them." By dint of patient industry a fire had been made, whose ruddy blaze seemed to cheer up the scene a little, and, clustering around it, the awakened sleepers sought a little comfort; but it was all in vain. Another sheet of rain descended, and the fire, a moment previous blazing breast-high, was a mass of water-soaked embers, around which huddled, for the remainder of the night, as disconsolate and miserable a set of bipeds as ever was seen. During the whole night but one solitary laugh broke the gloomy silence. A poor unfortunate corporal of Company A had been crouching all night on the end of a log, wrapped up in a rubber blanket. Falling asleep in the vain endeavor to extract a little warmth from the embers of the extinguished fire, he lost his balance while nodding to and fro, and rolled backward, heels over head, into the foot of mud and water which composed the road, whence he emerged such a pale, drab-colored and profane apparition as would have drawn a smile from the very Genius of Despair. In this general misery, rank was forgotten. Even Gen. Ewen shared the common lot, and slept in the mud like the lowest private, with no covering but a rubber blanket. The artillery had the advantage of being at the head of the column, but it suffered like the rest. Its experiences are stated by Lieut. Woodruff Jones as follows:

The country became quite hilly, and the horses, being considerably exhausted after the fatiguing march (15 miles), would balk on almost every hill that presented any difficulties. Many



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.



*Capt. Henry D. Smith, 1st New York, 1863, by H. G. S. Smith, 1863, in the collection of the State of New York*

From "Harper's Weekly," by permission McDonald Bros., Chicago.



hills, usually bad, were that day ten times worse owing to the earth being washed away by rain, and large rocks and deep gullies covering the roads; in the valleys the mud would be two feet deep owing to the wash from the hills. By doubling teams, and assisting by cannoneers at the wheels, the battery arrived within one-half a mile of Pine Grove, where we were to stop for the night. Here was a long hill, steep and covered with a sticky clay, worn into deep ruts. The first gun and caisson passed up without much difficulty, but the second stuck; teams were doubled until twelve horses were attached; the men helped at the wheels, but all in vain, the horses would not pull; the teams were taken out and walked around *a la Rarey*, traces stretched and slacked, wheels twisted around so as to start on the swing, but all to no account—the horses were completely “played.” After three hours hard work and alternate resting of teams the battery arrived at the top of the hill. They moved out a short distance, and then halted until a position could be assigned for the night. Then, after considerable difficulty in starting, the battery, with the exception of two caissons, moved on, two guns being placed on a commanding hill, and the rest parked in a farm-yard below.

The two caissons had to be left in the road all night, as neither entreaties nor threats would induce the horses to move. While engaged with the caissons, word came that one of the limbers on the hill had been upset by the horses; this was like adding the last straw that breaks the camel's back.

\* \* \* \* \*

On July 5 (Sunday), arising before dawn—if that term can be used where few had lain down—the regiment closed up and pushed forward. After a most tiresome five-mile walk through the same horrible road, now drained into a sticky clay mud, knee-deep, it reached Laurel Forge. This was a hamlet composed of a dozen huts, a big forge, the residence of the proprietor (where Gen. Smith established his headquarters).





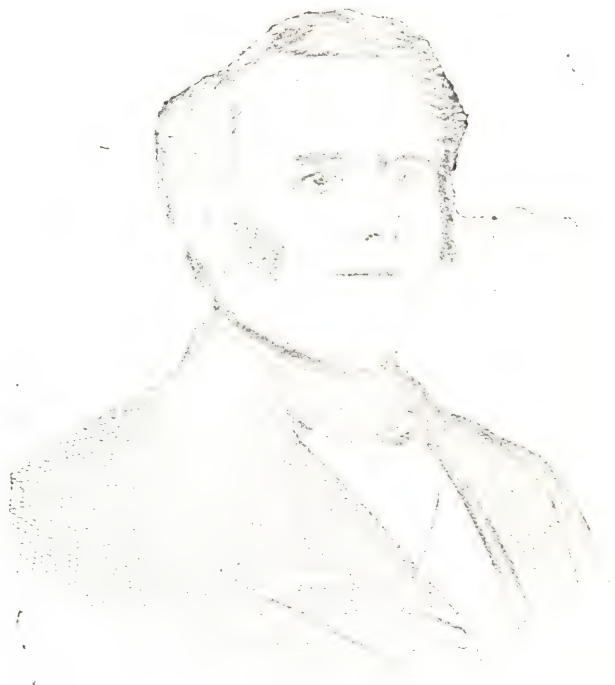
and nothing else, situated about seventeen miles from Carlisle, by the road the division had followed, and twelve miles northwest of Gettysburg, which General Smith had now flanked. Here, at about 11 A. M., the men got a little something to eat, which had been collected from a few houses in the neighborhood. The men of the brigade thronged into all the houses in the neighborhood and paid extravagant prices for anything in the shape of food. This soon became nothing but flour and water made into cakes and baked on the top of a rusty stove. These were eaten almost before they were cooked, the iron-rust giving a fine flavor, and, doubtless, serving as a much-needed tonic. This was the first food anyone had had since 3 o'clock in the morning of the preceding day. The people were hospitable and patriotic.

The women worked like slaves, in cooking, and gave up for the troops food they needed for their children and themselves. Such trains as had been provided were behind, broken down, or "stuck" all along in the mud. This does not mean much to an ordinary reader, but to the Twenty-second it meant that the shortest kind of "short commons" would be its fate in future, a prophecy which its members found, to their sorrow, to be strictly correct. The column was scattered into a mass of stragglers. At about 11:30 o'clock, the men having nearly all come up, so that a military formation was regained, the regiment proceeded up the mountain, and after about three hours' marching over good but very steep mountain roads, reached a point near the summit, one and a-half miles from Bendersville, where the men obtained some hard-tack, pork and coffee for supper, and



went to sleep in the customary rain, which fatigue had now deprived of its powers.

At this portion of the march, the late Judge Henry E. Davies (then Judge of the New York Court of Appeals), who had come to the front with dispatches



*Henry E. Davies*

joined the regiment and shared its fortunes until its arrival at Waynesboro. He had one son commanding a cavalry brigade under Gen. Meade and two others as privates in Company A, Twenty-second Regiment. In



consequence of which peculiar combination of circumstances the members of Company A became more familiar with the situation than even Col. Aspinwall.

The dense ignorance which prevails in a marching column in active service as to what it is doing, cannot be appreciated by those who have had no experience. Little is seen of other troops. Nothing is known of the country or route except what can be learned by a hurried question of an occasional farmer sitting on a fence watching the passing columns. In a country, such as the Twenty-second was now traversing, which was not unlike parts of the Adirondacks, the names of the places were unknown to all, and, therefore, carried no information.

Judge Davies took a great interest in what was transpiring; and it would have considerably surprised those who have only beheld him on the bench to have seen him in an old linen coat, "split down behind," scouring the country to the right and left of the line of march in quest of supplies and information for the Twenty-second, displaying, in these pursuits, the most invaluable talents as a forager and a capacity for enduring hardship and privation which put many of his juniors to the blush.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

### UNDER MEADE'S ORDERS.

LEE having retreated, the division was now acting under the directions of Gen. Meade, and the attempt to reach Gettysburg was abandoned.

On July 5, Gen. Meade telegraphed to Gen. Hallock:

The enemy retreated, under cover of the night and heavy rain, in the direction of Fairfield and Parktown. \* \* \* My movement will be at once on his flank, *via* Middletown and South Mountain Pass. \* \* \* Communication received from Gen. W. F. Smith, in command of 3,000 men on the march from Carlisle towards Cashtown. \* \* \* July 6, he reports: "Your dispatch requiring me to assume the general command of the forces in the field under Gen. Couch is received. I know nothing of the position or strength of his command, excepting the advance under Gen. Smith, which I have ordered here, and which I desire should furnish a necessary force to guard this place while the army is in the vicinity."

In the meantime Meade's chief of staff had dispatched to Gen. Smith the following:

GEN. BUTTERFIELD, *Chief of Staff*, Army of the Potomac, to Gen. Smith.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }  
July 5, 1863, 5:30 A. M. }

The General directs me to say that he is holding on here in a state of uncertainty as to the enemy's movements and inten-





tions. His reconnoissance will to-day, he trusts, furnish it. Meanwhile he considers that your position is precarious in the direction in which you are coming, as you are out of reach of his support. Your reinforcement to this army would be a valuable one and appreciated.

Before Gen. Smith had plunged into the mountains he had sent one of his staff upon a perilous ride around Lee's army to communicate directly with Gen. Meade and advise him of his plans. He performed his errand safely, and Meade sent the following to Gen. Smith:

Gen. Meade to Gen. Smith :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }  
GETTYSBURG, July 5, 1863. }

West left here this morning. When he arrived here last night the enemy was apparently in full force before my centre and left, but had withdrawn from my right. I knew he was in a strong position, awaiting my attack, which I declined to make in consequence of the bad example he had set me in ruining himself—attacking a strong position. At the same time I felt a little nervous about your position, as Couch telegraphed you were going to Cashtown where I could not have helped you. I therefore detained West till morning when we found the enemy had retired on the Cashtown and Fairfield roads. I then told West that you could safely join me by keeping a little to the west.

My instructions to Couch were to cross and make a demonstration in my favor, always looking to his return to the Susquehanna in case of disaster to me or other cause requiring it. I have never given him any other orders, and I do not like to run the risk of taking his troops away from the position that may be so important to hold. After I found the strength of your command, and its proximity, in consideration of my losses, I thought I would order you to join me, but if you consider your command essential to your defence of the Susquehanna, you



had better return after I leave here. I say this because Couch says now that he has only men to guard the fords *and seems to be nervous*.

That Gen. Couch continued to be "nervous" as late as July 14, appears from the following dispatch from ex-Secretary of War Cameron to President Lincoln:

HARRISBURG, July 14, 1863.

I left the army of the Potomac yesterday believing that the decision of Gen. Meade's council of war on Saturday night, not to attack the rebels, would allow them to escape. His army is in fine spirits and eager for battle. They will win if they get a chance.

Gen. Couch has a fine army between Carlisle and Greencastle, but will move no further south without orders, under the strong belief that his duty is to guard the Susquehanna. In my opinion the Susquehanna needs no guard. I have urged him from the beginning to join Meade. I hope in God that you will put forth your authority and order every man in arms between the Susquehanna and the Potomac to unite with Meade, so that he may have no reason for delay in giving battle before the falling of the flood allows Lee to escape.

Gen. Smith made the following endorsement upon Gen. Meade's communication:

ENDORSEMENT.

I sent Capt. West entirely around the rebel army to tell Meade where I was, and that I proposed to put myself on the turnpike in Lee's rear, not knowing then that the battle was over. I should have been two days earlier, and then such a move would have been of great service, *even if the militia had been roughly handled, which would have probably been the case.*

He telegraphed the following to Gen. Couch:

CARLISLE, July 5, 1863.

I enclose dispatches from Gen. Meade, and ask for orders. My information is that I can be of more service with this force,



acting under your orders, in the Cumberland Valley. However, I leave you to decide, only expressing my anxiety to go where I can be of most service.

On the same day, Gen. Couch telegraphed to Gen. Meade:

HARRISBURG, July 5, 1863.

The prisoners turned over to Gen. Smith number 1,300, said to be mostly from the First Corps. Potomac rising fast at Hancock. I have a cavalry force west of Hagerstown. Some prisoners taken to-day. I directed Gen. Smith to get on Lee's flank, if possible, near Cashtown. He will do it, if possible, with New York militia.

On July 3, Gen. Smith being anxious to communicate with Gen. Meade, called upon his staff for a volunteer who would undertake the perilous task. Lieut. Rufus King, his chief of artillery, was most anxious to rejoin his battery, Fourth Artillery U. S. A., which was then serving with Meade, and at once volunteered. His services were accepted, and, taking with him as orderly, Private Lieber, of Landis' Battery, who also volunteered, he started on the afternoon of the third upon the long and dangerous ride. The enemy was known to be between Carlisle and Gettysburg, but their whereabouts was unknown. About ten miles south of Carlisle, Lieut. King and his orderly encountered the Confederate outposts. These they eluded by turning eastward, and taking to the fields, a course which they continued whenever they met the enemy. They rode all night, practically running the gauntlet, being constantly fired on by the Confederate skirmishers and pickets. Escaping these by great good fortune, they succeeded in riding around Lee's army and reaching Gen. Meade's



headquarters, completing their ride of over thirty miles on the morning of the fourth. Lieut. King here learned that his battery was cut to pieces in the battle, and most of its officers killed. On the afternoon of the fourth, Lieut. King, with his orderly, started back with orders from Gen. Meade. Lee's retreat had cleared their path of skirmishers, and they were able to keep to the roads. The terrible rain, however, made their progress difficult and disagreeable.

Gen. Smith had moved from Carlisle, and King and his orderly overtook him on the fifth, beyond Paper-town, and delivered their orders. The horse which the orderly rode dropped dead from over-exhaustion and hard riding when his rider reached his battery.







## CHAPTER XXIV.

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### TO NEWMAN'S GAP.

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THE situation of the bivouac of the Twenty-second at Bendersville was most picturesque, the scenery magnificent, the mountain air bracing. But there was one great drawback—there was nothing to eat. The tired teams of the few wagons that had struggled through the muddy roads could not drag them up to the crest of the mountain where the camp was situated, and the country afforded nothing in the way of supplies. Scouting parties were sent out on all sides, and a little bread was obtained from the few houses that were found. This was doled out, a slice to each man in such companies as were fortunate enough to get any; but many had nothing. Several wagons were found, which were impressed into service, but they were of little use where nothing could be found to put into them.

At 3:30 A. M. on Monday, July 6, reveille sounded, and the Twenty-second, without breakfast, marched a mile or more down-hill. Some rations were then obtained, and orders were issued for the men to put their water-soaked rifles in as good order as possible, and to be ready to march as soon as the rations were cooked and eaten. This took until noon. It then began to



rain, in the midst of which the regiment "fell in," and marched for Newman's Gap, nine miles distant, at which point a brush with the enemy was expected. No opposing force was, however, encountered, and the regiment proceeded about seven miles further, marching until nearly 12 o'clock at night.

The reports from all sources were that the enemy was now near, and in force. A section of Landis' Battery was brought up the steep mountain side by the aid of the infantry, and was planted at a cross-road in an open wood, to command the approaches. It was concealed by boughs, and the troops were disposed so as to protect the position.

Gen. Smith says in his report:

On Sunday, Gen. Knipe was ordered, with his command, to hold the cross-roads from Mount Holly to Cashtown and Pine Grove to Bendersville, while Gen. Ewen crossed the mountain to the Mount Holly and Cashtown road, holding the pass in his rear, and being within a mile of Gen. Knipe's command. Col. Brisbane, with the Pennsylvania Brigade, was holding a by-road from Pine Grove to Cashtown. A cavalry scout, under Lieut. Stanwood, was sent up Mountain Creek Valley, in the direction of the pass from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, through which it was supposed the enemy would send his trains, if he were defeated. Lieutenant Stanwood drove in the pickets a couple of miles from the turnpike, but had not sufficient force to press on.

Capt. Boyd joined me at Pine Grove, having followed the rear guard of the enemy to Fayetteville, on the Gettysburg and Chambersburg road, capturing prisoners. He was directed to pass by Bendersville, in the direction of Cashtown, to try and ascertain the movements and position of the enemy. He fell in with them, and captured eight wagons and \* prisoners.

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\* Left blank in the original report.



During the day a small provision train came up, which was very acceptable, as it was impossible to subsist the troops from the country. A scout from Gen. Meade also came through, giving the information that the enemy was retiring; and later in the day, Capt. West, a volunteer aid and assistant upon the Coast Survey, returned, having successfully opened communications with Gen. Meade, on Saturday, from Mount Holly.

At 3 P. M. Monday, July 6, Gen. Couch telegraphed Gen. Meade:

To-night Gen. Smith will probably be at Newman's Cut, three miles west of Cashtown, on the Emmetsburg road.

At 4:40 P. M., Gen. Meade telegraphed to Gen. Couch as follows:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

GETTYSBURG, July 6, 1863.

The General-in-Chief Hallock has directed me to assume the general command of all the troops you have in the field. This, in view of my ignorance of the number, organization and position of your troops, is a very difficult matter. Lee, from all I can learn, is withdrawing towards Hagerstown and Williamsport. I propose to move *via* Middletown and South Mountain. If the condition of the roads and the impediments in his way should delay him, I may have an opportunity of attacking him. In this you can co-operate, either by directly reënforcing me or by moving down the valley, and establishing communication with my army; or the movement may be confined, as I previously desired it, to a simple demonstration.

In these points I do not wish to hamper you with instructions, but leave it to your knowledge of your troops and the necessity of the defence of the Susquehanna.

I think I have inflicted such injury on Lee that he will hardly contemplate another demonstration on Harrisburg. Still, if I have to meet with disaster, such a contingency should be held in view. I would like your opinion, with the remark that all the assistance I can get will not only be needed, but most



gratefully received. General Smith being very near me, I have ordered him to this place, where a force should be left to cover our withdrawal, and to protect the hospitals and public property.

If you can spare Smith, I should like to have him, so soon as the movements of the enemy indicate a force to be no longer necessary at this point. My headquarters to-night will be here, to-morrow at Fredericksburg. The army is now in motion.

Accompanying this letter was an order from Gen. Williams, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army of the Potomac directing Gen. Smith "to proceed at once to Gettysburg and occupy the country so as to protect the hospitals of our own and the rebel wounded."

Gen. Smith to Gen. Couch:

NEWMAN'S GAP, July 6, 1863, 1 P. M.

I encamp here to-night, having made fourteen miles through the mountains. If nothing happens I shall move to-morrow toward the next gap south, and so on up the Cumberland Valley, holding the gaps and keeping well in the mountains where I can make a good fight. Will you send me some provisions to Fayetteville and all the haversacks you can raise? The rebels, some of them, passed the night here, but left Chambersburg to the right. I imagine it was principally a cavalry force, with infantry enough to escort the train. The main body is still on the eastern slope working through the other passes.

That the action of Gen. Smith's command was considered by the Army of the Potomac to have been valuable, appears from the following letter from Gen. G. K. Warren, Gen. Meade's chief of staff.

Gen. Warren to Gen. Smith:

BATTLEFIELD OF GETTYSBURG, July 6, 1863.

Your orders to stop here are to provide for any contingencies for a day or so, and Gen. Meade wishes very much for you to fol-





low on and join him as soon as developments show no necessity for a force here, which is even now apparent, but not so when the order was sent to you. *We are all much pleased with the way you behaved at Harrisburg Bridge and Carlisle. It was a great help to us.* We have made this place a sore subject of mention to Southern pride. I hope you are well and that I am to see you soon.

It will be remembered in reading these communications that Gen. Smith, after leaving Carlisle, was for several days in the mountains, away from all telegraphs, and could only be connected with by couriers over bad roads, and hence knew but little of what was going on.

Gen. Couch notified Gen. Williams of this fact by the following telegram :

HARRISBURG, July 7, 1863.

Up to last night my orders to Smith to join you had failed to reach him on account of couriers being captured or lost in mountains. In case he joins you, please relieve him, as he returns by my order to join me. He reports the enemy still working back through the passes on which he calls the eastern slope. He has received no orders from you. In carrying out previous orders will work down through gaps on Cumberland Valley side.

On July 6, an unfortunate accident took place. The loaded rifles of the troops had become wet, so that most of them were useless. Being without means of drawing the charges, the men sought to discharge them by pricking powder in the nipples. In doing this, one of the Twenty-third Brooklyn fired into the bivouac of the Fifty-sixth Brooklyn, the bullet wounding two men, one mortally. The Twenty-third felt the matter keenly, and at once made the only reparation in their power by subscribing \$1,200, which they paid to the families of those thus injured.



On July 7, at 2:30 A. M., Gen. Smith received the orders sent to him at Newman's Gap, and at once replied to Gen. Williams:

The order brought by Lieut. King is received, and will be obeyed immediately. Two officers of the First Corps, who left the enemy last night at Waynesboro, have reached me, and report the enemy in rapid retreat. \* \* \* I had thought of going on to the next gap to-morrow, if I got no orders, but shall march to Gettysburg in the morning. Yesterday my command was reënforced by about 2,500 men.

This suggestion was approved by Gen. Meade, and Gen. A. Pleasanton, acting chief of staff, wrote to Gen. Smith as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

JULY 7, 1863, 5 A. M.

Maj.-Gen. Meade desires me to say you can continue the pursuit of the enemy; that he only needs one regiment to guard the property and wounded at Gettysburg, for which he has sent to Gen. Couch, supposing you were on the way to Chambersburg. The army is concentrating at Middletown. You can join it there after pushing the enemy to the best advantage.

The effect of the hard service upon the men appears in the following report made by Gen. Smith to Gen. Couch, from Greenwood, on July 7, 1863:

The order of Gen. Meade requiring me to move to Gettysburg is countermanded, and I am now moving in the direction of Waynesborough. My supplies are not all up yet, and, if possible, a train should be on the road to meet me at Waynesborough. The mountain roads and wet weather have left many of my men shoeless. Can you send me 1,000 pairs at once?

By this it will be seen that the shoes of one-tenth of the command had been worn out by the hard marching over wet and muddy roads.



The march from Bendersville was notable to the Twenty-second, because its termination brought them to a camp where, by hard foraging, at about 1 P. M., they secured their breakfast of bread, apple-butter and meat—*real meat*,—and never did breakfast taste so good to them in all this world.

It was well known to the command by this time that while the command was stuck in the mud on the "glorious Fourth," Lee had retreated from Gettysburg, and was now endeavoring to escape through the mountain passes; and they were reluctantly compelled to abandon the hopes that had been entertained of earning immortal glory by coming in at the eleventh hour of the great combat to turn their defeat into a rout. But it was not to be; and therefore the energies of the brigade were thenceforth exercised to prevent the rebels from securing the mountain passes, and, if possible, capture their trains. Marching hastily to one gap, they would hold it until information that the rebels were moving towards another would cause a forced march for that. What would have taken place if the command had happened to strike a gap just as half of Lee's army had got through, is a thing which the Twenty-second did not think about at the time, but which, it is now apparent, would have been rather unpleasant. That the enemy feared their approach, and was prepared for us, is shown by the following:

Gen. Sedgwick to Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Williams:

HEADQUARTERS SIXTH CORPS,

NEAR FAIRFIELD, July 6, 1863.

\* \* \* \* \*

A recaptured prisoner (a civilian) reports that while at Gettysburg one division was sent out by the enemy on the



Cashtown road, to meet and hold in check a force of ours, supposed to be 40,000 strong, reported as advancing from the direction of Carlisle.

That Gen. Couch was still nervous is shown by his telegrams.

Gen. Couch to Gen. Meade:

HARRISBURG, July 6, 1863.

Gen. Smith, on the fourth and fifth, received your orders to join him. At 1 A. M. to-day I directed him to obey your orders, unless he found the enemy in retreat, and could operate effectively where he had been ordered to strike at Cashtown or Chambersburg. He should have nearly 10,000 men, but one-half are very worthless; and 2,000 cavalry, with a battery, can capture the whole party in an open country. This is why I put them in, or near, the mountains; there they could do service.

Gen. Smith gives in his report the following summary of the march:

On Monday morning I marched the brigade by three different roads, concentrating at Newman's Pass, behind Cashtown. We were, however, too late to intercept the trains which had gone that route.

Tuesday morning, I was proposing to enter the Cumberland Valley, and follow down the mountains toward Boonsborough, when an order came from Gen. Meade to march to Gettysburg, which order was shortly after countermanded, with permission to do as I had proposed. The command was then marched to Altodale (Funkstown), and an officer sent to Chambersburg, to try and procure supplies, as my trains had failed to overtake me. A small supply being procured, the troops were marched, on Wednesday, to Waynesborough, where I found Gen. Neill, with a brigade of infantry and one of cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery. Here I was forced to wait for my trains to come up, but sent a cavalry scout to communicate with Gen. Meade, west of South Mountain.





Thursday was spent in waiting for rations to come up, and for instructions from Gen. Meade.

On Friday I was ordered by him to occupy the enemy to the best advantage, and to be ready to join the Army of the Potomac, or Gen. Couch, as circumstances might require. Col. McIntosh was at once ordered, with his brigade of cavalry and four guns, to feel the enemy along the Antietam, below Leitersburg, which he did in the most skillful manner, driving his cavalry pickets across the creek upon their infantry and artillery supports. The cavalry was supported in this movement by two regiments of Pennsylvania militia, under Col. Frick, at Ringgold and Smithsburg, and one regiment, Forty-third New York Volunteers, from Gen. Neill's command, posted near Leitersburg.

On Saturday, hearing that the rebels had ordered a miller on March Run to grind wheat all night for them, Col. Brisbane, with two regiments of Pennsylvania militia, was ordered, if possible, to intercept the wagons going for the flour, and destroy the grain if he could not bring it off. These regiments were supported by the Sixty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, of Gen. Neill's command. From two prisoners captured at the mill, we learned that the enemy had fallen back to Hagerstown.

Col. Brisbane's command was left at Waynesborough, with orders to march at daylight, and the rest of the troops were moved to Leitersburg, excepting the command of Col. Frick, which was ordered from Ringgold to Chewsville.

During the night an order came for Gen. Neill to join the Army of the Potomac at once, and, as no instructions were sent to me, I ordered Col. Brisbane to remain at Waynesborough, to guard my communications, and moved with what force I had with me to Cavetown. After posting my troops there, I reported, in person, to Gen. Meade, and recommended to him to divide my command among the old divisions of the Army of the Potomac before the anticipated battle. Under the supposition that this was to be done, I ordered Col. Brisbane to Hagerstown, and moved with the rest of the command to the Boonsborough turnpike, near Beaver Creek. Gen. Meade declined to distribute the militia, and I remained until Wednesday morning, when I



received orders to send the New York State militia home, *via* Frederick, and the necessary orders were given. The Pennsylvania militia were concentrated at Hagerstown, under Col. Brisbane, who was appointed military governor, with instructions to watch the fords at Williamsport and Falling Waters.

Gen. Smith's report fails to give the details of these marches, during which the Twenty-second three times crossed the mountains, of the incessant rains, the horrible roads, the want of food, which lasted until after leaving Waynesborough. Up to that time one meal a day was the usual allowance, and this generally consisted of bread (usually purchased from the farmers at a dollar a loaf) and apple butter. If the men could get meat once in three days they accounted themselves fortunate, and then the animal was driven into camp, shot, cut up, cooked and eaten in less time than it takes to write about it. Such meat, generally eaten without salt, was not very nourishing. It certainly was far from appetizing.

The men had plenty of money. In fact, the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac who encountered their foraging squads and heard their offers to purchase food, inquired with astonishment, "When were you fellows paid off?" But partly from the poorness of the country and partly from the ravages of the Confederates, food could not be obtained. In this semi-starvation all the militia, whether New Yorkers or Pennsylvanians, were common sufferers.

Leland says in his memoirs :

Although we had no tents, only a miserable, rotten old gun-cover,\* and not always that, to sleep under (I generally slept

\* It was brand new.



in the open air, frequently in the rain), and often no issue of food for days; we were strictly prohibited from foraging or entering the country houses to buy food. This, which was a great absurdity, was about the only point of military discipline strictly enforced (p. 259).

One afternoon we had to go up hill—in many cases it was *terribly* steep—by a road like those in Devonshire, resembling a ditch. It rained in torrents, and the water was knee-deep. The poor mules\* had to be urged and aided in every way, and half the pulling and pushing was done by us. All of us worked like navvies. So we went onwards and upwards for sixteen miles. When we got to the top of the hill, out of one hundred privates, Henry, I and four others alone remained. R. W. Gilder was one of these, besides Landis and Lieut. Perkins—that is to say, we alone had not given out from fatigue; but the rest soon followed. \* \* \* But what was worse, I had to lie all night on sharp flints, *i. e.*, the slag or *debris* of an iron-smeltery or old forge, out of doors—in a terrible rain, and, though tired to death, got very little sleep; nor had we any food whatever, even then or the next day. Commissariat there was none, and very little at any time (Leland, p. 260).

On July 6 the Twenty-second marched until late at night, expecting to cut off the rebel wagon-train at Newman's Gap. It was dark as Erebus, but the numerous lights, and the sounds that were heard as they approached, convinced all that the movement had been successful, perhaps a little too successful, for it was evident that there were more infantry than wagons in their front. The surgeons took possession of a house and hung out their flag; a few hurried preparations were made, and the regiments moved cautiously up, when the return of one of the scouts disclosed that the supposed enemy was only some

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\* The battery had horses, not mules.



of the Brooklyn regiments, who had taken a shorter road, and come in ahead of this part of the brigade. Considerably disgusted at this intelligence, the regiment turned off into the fields which bordered the road, hungry and tired enough, and slept in the long, wet grass, till the early gray of the morning when they resumed the advance.

On reaching Newman's Gap, it was found that Lee's rear guard had passed through about eight hours before the Twenty-second got there, and that the fight, so confidently expected at this point, was "off" for the present. But, although disappointed in this respect, they were compensated by obtaining something to eat. In addition, they had the pleasure of having pointed out to them no less than six houses, in all of which Longstreet had died the previous night, and two others, where he was yet lying mortally wounded.







## CHAPTER XXV.

ALTODALE, OR, FUNKSTOWN.



MARCHING THROUGH  
THE MUD.

ON Tuesday, July 7, the regiment started at daylight, without rations, and marched three miles to Caledonia Cross Roads, where breakfast was obtained. It then pushed on over muddy roads, rendered almost impracticable by the march of Lee's army, passing crowds of Confederate prisoners, brought in from the advance. These wore shabby, butternut-colored suits, and slouched along, looking not at all like the veteran soldiers that they were. One notable exception was a tall, black-bearded man, with his left arm in a sling, who glared around like a wounded lion as he strode past. The regiment also passed the smoking ruins of a large iron-mill, burned a day or two before by the enemy. The marching was very fatiguing; the men had had no meat, and were weary and faint when, at 4 P. M., the division went into camp at Altodale, usually known as Funkstown. The place selected was a level piece of ground, in the midst of a beautiful grove. This was intersected by the Little



Antietam—a rapid, clear little brook,—the whole forming an ideal camp, except that the ground was covered with projecting points of rocks, so that it was difficult for a man to find a place where he could lie down with any comfort. Rations soon came up, and when eaten, the men, although directed to sleep on their arms, for fear of an attack from Stuart's Cavalry then in the neighborhood, lay down, in first-rate spirits, and slept the sleep of the just, a heavy grand guard being sent out in advance.

During the night it rained heavily; but, too tired to wake up for any ordinary shower, the men sheltered themselves and their guns as best they might, and slept on. At about 3 o'clock it seemed as though the very fountains of the great deep had been broken up. The rain came down in solid sheets, compelling the most tired to rise. As one of the men remarked, "A common rain wasn't anything, but when the water got so deep where he was laying as to run into his ears, it really disturbed his sleep."

What a sight presented itself when daylight rendered objects visible! The beautiful grassy plain, level as a billiard-table, on which the regiment had lain down so cheerfully the night before, was now a lake, beneath whose surface their guns, canteens and other paraphernalia, were slowly disappearing. The little brook had become a torrent, almost equal to the far-famed Yellow Breeches, which a few Brooklyn troops were vainly endeavoring to ford in order to rescue a pile of knapsacks and equipments which were being carried away by its sudden overflow. The smooth grass had vanished. On every side nothing was to be seen but mud,



water and wet and muddy soldiers and horses, the men leaning against the trees, or looking unavailingly for stones or something to sit upon, for no man, no matter however wet or tired, will ever sit down in water or mud if he is able to stand.



*Making a fire at bunkhouse. - Pa*

From 3 to 11 o'clock A. M. the rain continued with unabated vigor. A few fires were started under the shelter of rub-

ber blankets, and coffee made, which put new life into the limbs of the men, and they became quite jolly. It is a noticeable fact that where things "become perfectly awful," when the mud is deepest and the rain the heaviest, their spirits appeared to rise with the difficulties of the situation (except when they had nothing to eat). In fact, they apparently enjoyed themselves much more than when they were suffering from a slight annoyance, and accommodated themselves to really serious circumstances as though it was rather funny than otherwise. Nevertheless, the order to march was joyfully welcomed. This camp was noticeable as the place where many of the shoes of the men gave out, rendering it impossible for them to keep up with the column, although they did their best to do so.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

### JOINING THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

AFTER the regiment had eaten a light breakfast of hard-tack, the rain ceased and the skies cleared up. Leaving Altodale, Wednesday, July 8, the division followed the course of the Little Antietam, in a southwesterly direction, to Waynesborough, most of the time wading in mud over their ankles, and sometimes to their knees, and went into camp in some woods on the Waynesborough and Hagerstown pike, about two miles beyond, having marched about eleven miles. Here it became a part of the Third Brigade, Second Division of the Sixth Army Corps, whose white cross, artistically carved out of cracker, was at once adopted by a number of the regiment. In the subsequent manœuvres it became a part of the Army of the Potomac.



*Camp in the woods Funkstown R.*

Waynesborough was a pleasant little place, with many pretty and patriotic girls, the prettiest the men had seen since leaving Carlisle. The town, however,





had been so cleaned out by the enemy that one could not even buy a tin cup. The foraging parties of the regiment scoured the country both in and outside the pickets with untiring zeal, but the results were meagre enough. During the three days they remained there, the Twenty-second had almost nothing to eat the first day and but a bare sufficiency afterward. Fortunately, there was nothing to hinder their sleeping, washing the mud out of their clothes (which they had to do piece-meal, having no others), and watching them while they dried. The Confederates were near by, and in strong force, their pickets being but two miles distant; and officers and men were required, by special orders, to be always on the alert. No passes whatever were permitted to be issued.

Gen. Meade, in his report of the battle of Gettysburg, makes the following allusion to the arrival of the brigade, though he erroneously makes Boonesborough, instead of Waynesborough, the place where the division first joined him:

It is my duty as well as my pleasure to call attention to the earnest efforts at co-operation on the part of Maj.-Gen. D. N. Couch, commanding the Department of the Susquehanna, and particularly to his advance of 4,000 men under Brig.-Gen. W. F. Smith, who joined me at Boonesborough just prior to the withdrawal of the Confederate Army.

The following report of his arrival was made by Gen. Smith to Gen. Williams, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army of the Potomac:

WAYNESBOROUGH, July 8, 1863.

My command arrived here to-day, and finding Gen. Neill here have encamped so as to render him all possible assistance



till definite instructions are sent to me. My command is an incoherent mass, and, if it is to join the Army of the Potomac, I would suggest that the brigades, five in number, be attached to old divisions, and thus disperse the greenness. They cannot be manoeuvred, and, as a command, it is quite helpless, excepting in the kind of duty I have kept them on in the mountains. I have here about 4,000 men, and, I suppose, 2,000 have straggled away since I left Carlisle.\*

Gen. Knipe is the only one I have with me who is at all serviceable, and he is anxious to get back to his own brigade in the Twelfth Corps. I am utterly powerless, without aid, and in the short time allotted to infuse any discipline into these troops, and, for the reasons given above, make the suggestion as being for the best interest of the service.

This suggestion of Gen. Smith was a wise one, at least, as far as the New York troops were concerned. The trouble with them was the inexperience of their brigade commanders and the want of confidence the men felt in them. If mixed with the veterans of the Potomac, and put under experienced officers, their efficiency would have been doubled.

The following official communications show the situation at this time.

Brig.-Gen. Thomas H. Neill to Gen. Williams:

HEADQUARTERS LIGHT DIVISION ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

JULY 9, 1863.

"Baldy" (W. F.) Smith is here with his command. Col. Gregg, with a brigade of cavalry, who leaves for Boonesborough, will send this. A scout brings information that Lee has one corps intrenched on the Williamsport pike from Hagerstown, another on the Boonesborough pike, and Early is said to be up toward Middlebury (quien sabe?) between Newcastle and Hagerstown.

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\* Mainly from illness, poor food and worn-out shoes.



The news of the capture of Vicksburg<sup>6</sup> is confirmed. Have sent a cavalry reconnoissance toward Hagerstown this morning. It has not returned.

Since writing the above, have felt the enemy's pickets, with a regiment of cavalry, at a bridge four or five miles from Hagerstown. They are stubborn. We drove them away, but they returned as we retired.

Gen. Smith is in with his mixed command. Am delighted to have the benefit of his counsel and advice. We are all right, but watch Early's division on my right toward Middlebury.

Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Williams to Gen. Smith :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

JULY 9, 1863.

The army will occupy the line from Boonesborough to Rohrer'sville to-day. The army (men and animals) is very much exhausted, and cannot advance as rapidly as desired. Although the information respecting the position of the enemy is not very definite, yet he is believed not to have crossed any large part of it over the Potomac, but is concentrating it between Hagerstown and Williamsport. Under these circumstances, definite instructions cannot be sent to you. You will look to the security of your command; join this army when you can do so with security, unless the operations of Gen. Couch require you to unite with him. Definite instructions will be sent you as soon as practicable. Although highly desirable that Gen. Neill should join his corps, yet he must be governed by your instructions.

Gen. Smith to Gen. Couch :

WAYNESBOROUGH, July 9, 1863.

I am here awaiting orders from you or Gen. Meade, *and am much in want of shoes*, and will be happy to ride over and see you when you arrive at Shippensburg.

Gen. Smith to Gen. Williams :

WAYNESBOROUGH, July 10, 1863.

I had proposed to move the command to join the Army of the Potomac to-morrow morning, but, in consequence of your



dispatch, shall await orders, and do my best here. The cavalry made a scout to-day, and found the rebels strongly posted on the right bank of the Antietam, below Leitersburg. I fear, if I am kept here to make a long march, I shall not be able to get into the fight.

On July 9 (Thursday), the division was greatly fatigued and very hungry. The commissary reported:

We shall have no rations to-day, as the Government train from Harrisburg has not been able to reach here, roads so bad and bridges washed away.

A little bread was obtained and a slice issued to each man. On July 10, the rations had not arrived, but some food was obtained at the houses. The men bathed in Antietam Creek and found it a great relief as some of them had not had their clothes off for over two weeks. That night the Twenty-second had dress parade, the first since leaving camp at Harrisburg.

The following general order was read in front of each regiment of the brigade:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, DEPT. OF THE SUSQUEHANNA,  
WAYNESBOROUGH, July 11, 1863.

The brigadier-general commanding calls the attention of the command to the certainty of an early engagement with the enemy, and it is strictly enjoined upon brigade, regimental and company commanders to attend at once to the condition of the arms and ammunition of the men under them.

No time is to be lost in putting the arms in perfect order and seeing that the boxes are filled with cartridges.

The rations on hand must be cooked and put in haversacks, so that no detention will ensue when the order to march is given; and also that the men may not suffer for food when it is impossible for the supply trains to reach them.

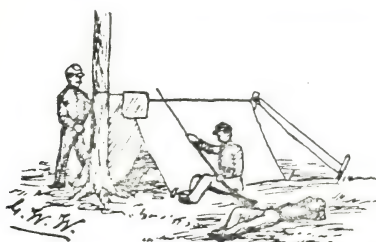
By order of

BRIG.-GEN. W. F. SMITH.





This was very necessary. The incessant rains, the fording of streams and sleeping on the wet ground had kept the men's guns (muzzle-loaders) in horrible condition. They had nothing with which to draw the charges.



*Cleaning the rifles - Pa.*

Consequently every day or two it was necessary to discharge them, and, to do this, from ten to fifteen caps would be expended. Even then the bullets would sometimes not go twenty feet.

Once the regiment formed in line to fire a volley and not twenty rifles were discharged at the command, and fully ten minutes were spent before the greater part of the wet loads could be fired.

The following was the strength of the command, (which was known as the First Division, Department of the Susquehanna), on July 11, 1863:

#### NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.

8th New York	257	28th Pennsylvania	409
11th "	510	31st "	402
13th "	310	32nd " not stated	
22nd "	482	Gray Reserves	765
23rd "	416	Blue Reserves	894
28th "	311	Pennsylvania Cavalry (two	
37th "	307	companies)	120
52nd "	180	Miller's Battery	94
56th "	324	Philadelphia Battery	87
68th " (not reported)		Com. officers, etc.	402
71st "	450		
27th Pennsylvania	696	Aggregate,	6,723



This shows that the Twenty-second had kept well together.

The gray uniforms of a number of the regiments of the division were not approved of by the veterans of the Army of the Potomac, and those wearing them were advised that their health would be improved by their exchanging them for blue blouses before they got into action, as there was great danger that they might get fired on from the rear as well as from the front.





## CHAPTER XXVII.

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### MARCHING THROUGH MARYLAND.

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ON Friday, July 10, the Twenty-third and Seventy-first went out two or three miles on the Green-castle pike, where they remained for the day. During the afternoon of Saturday, July 11, distant cannonading was heard, caused by Gen. Meade's feeling the enemy at Williamsport. Reports were current throughout the division of another battle in which Lee had been worsted, and the excitement was great, although such matters had got to be such an old story that the feeling was less than would be supposed. About dusk, on the 11th the division marched for Maryland in high spirits. On the way, the Twenty-second marched and counter-marched a good deal, losing three hours' time and its temper, in consequence of Gen. Ewen having forgotten that in going through a strange country he could not get on well without providing himself with a guide. Consequently, it was not until after dark that it reached the Antietam, at Scotland's Bridge, although this was only about two miles out. The bridge had been burned, and was still smoking, and the men were ordered to ford the stream. As no one knew the depth, the men took off their trousers, or rolled them



up to their hips, only to find the water not two feet deep. Once across, a pleasant moonlight march over a first-rate road soon brought the column to the border; and when the officers announced, "That house marks the line, boys!" it was with no small gratification that the men shook off the dust from their feet, singing, with great impressment, the Union version of "Maryland—my Maryland," together with a number of parodies not very complimentary to the "men we left behind us." It appears from the records that some objection was anticipated on the part of a portion of the troops to their being sent out of Pennsylvania. Nothing of the kind ever existed in the New York regiments, and they heard of nothing of it among their Pennsylvania associates.

A few miles from the line, the regiment camped by division in a large field. Many, in reading of a camp by division, imagine a most picturesque scene, of long lines of snowy tents being pitched, while trees are felled for firewood, and all sorts of poetic things take place. Nothing of the kind occurs. On arriving at the selected spot (generally a large field), the regiments file in one after another, taking their places in the order in which they marched, and break to the rear so as to form column by divisions. The orders are given: "Halt! Stack arms! *Go for rails!!*" Every man simultaneously drops his traps where he stands, and makes a bee-line for the tall worm-fences, which are vanishing in every direction, as if by magic. One of these rails must be contributed to the company fire, and happy is he, who, in addition to procuring his quota, can secure a couple more for himself! Serenely reposing on their sharp edges, covered by his rubber blanket, if he has one, he





defies at once the rain above and the mud below; or, more ambitious grown, the spoils of four are combined, and a shelter, á la rebel, is speedily constructed, which is roofed with two rubber blankets, and the proprietors lying underneath on the other two, are at once the ad-



miration and envy of their comrades. If in the woods, shelters are built of boughs. The company rails being obtained, are split, a fire started, and supper cooked (if there is anything to cook), and the men, after smoking

the pipe of peace, lie down, some around the fire, and the rest where they halted in the first instance, and in two minutes are in the land of dreams, blessing the memory of the discoverer of tobacco, and the man who invented sleep.

At the first streak of daylight all are awake; a hurried breakfast is made, or not (generally not), ablutions are likewise dispensed with. The "assembly" sounds; rubber blankets and overcoats are hastily rolled and slung by those who are lucky enough to have them. A few hurried orders are passed along the line; the troops fall in and march off; and in half an hour the trampled ground, the ashes of numerous fires, and the ruined fences, alone tell that ten thousand men have camped there for the night.

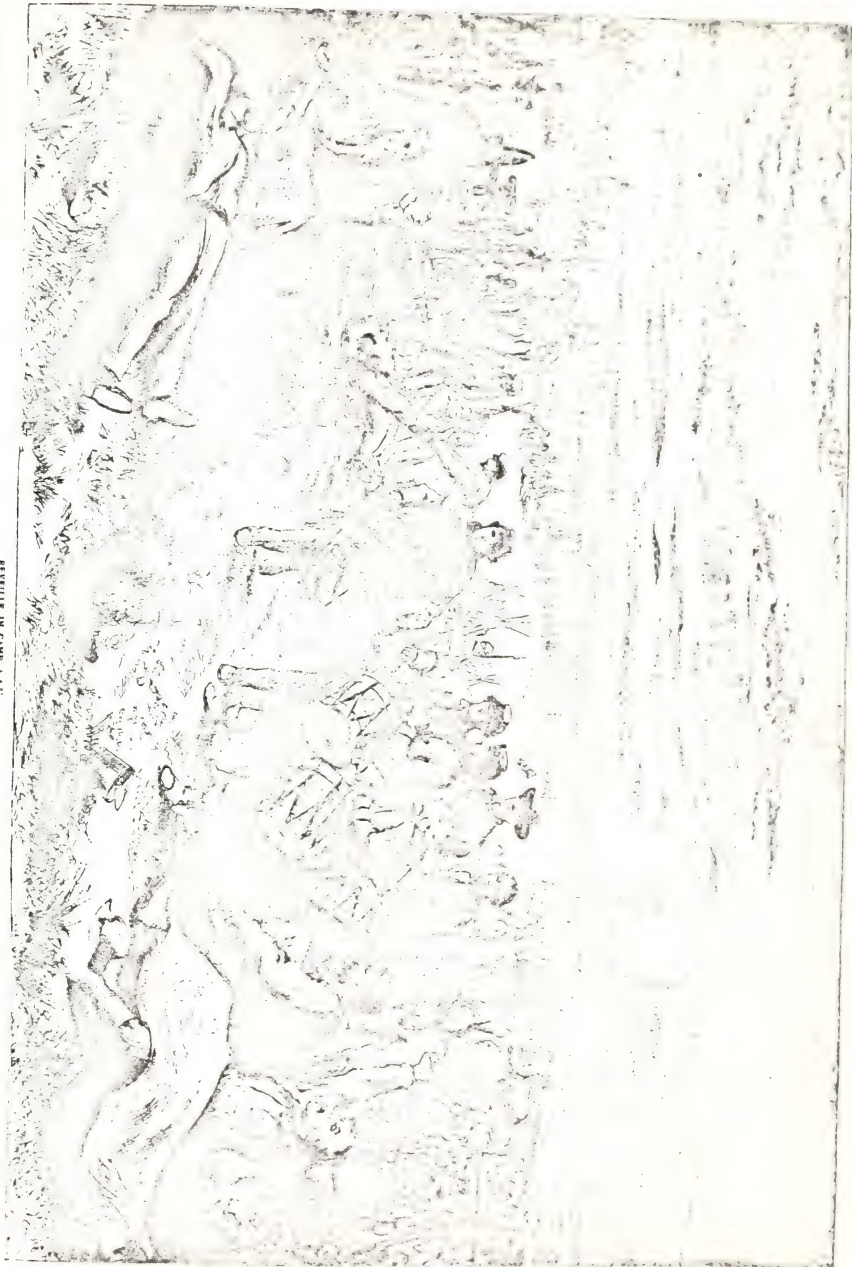
For some time the division had been pressing hard upon the heels of Lee's retreating army, and at every step new signs of the rapidity of his movements were to



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.

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REVELLE IN CAMP - A.





be seen. He moved in three columns, the cavalry and artillery taking the road, and the infantry the fields on each side, through which their trampling had made a trodden path as wide as a city street, the standing wheat being cut up into pieces like tooth-picks. The road was churned into a muddy mass, mid-leg deep, in which were frequently encountered wagons, and even caissons, broken down and stuck fast. Occasionally this mud would be mixed with percussion-shells which had been thrown out, partly to lighten a caisson and partly as torpedoes.

Once at a halt, a squad of the regiment was standing in the mud and one of them caught his foot in something, which he began to kick until he kicked it into sight. What appeared was the fuse end of a 3-inch percussion-shell, and the kicker promptly stopped.

Throughout the whole route, numbers of Confederate wounded were found in the houses by the roadside, deserters without end were encountered, while broken wagons, abandoned ammunition, canteens, etc., etc., were strewn on every side. Yet, notwithstanding these appearances of demoralization, it was evident from the accounts of the country people, that, though much dispirited by their late defeat, Lee's army was far from being the mere mob that it was believed by some to be.

It is true that the mountains were full of stragglers, and the Union cavalry were constantly passing with crowds of prisoners in their charge. Yet, the main army was full of fight, and when it turned on its pursuers, as it frequently did, like a stag at bay, it was not to be despised.



From the formation of the ground, in that section of country, the retreating army derived a great advantage over its pursuers. It was constantly enabled to take positions too formidable to be attacked except in strong force, and where a mere show of strength would



PRIVATE BOBERT. SERGT. JOS. W. WILDEY.  
SECOND LIEUT. THEO. GASCOUGH.  
SERGT. MARVIN R. PEARSALL.  
FIRST LIEUT. JOHN L. CAMP.

check the pursuit until a deployment could be made. Then before Meade could concentrate his forces, Lee's rear guard would be off. At Altodale (or Funkstown), in particular, with the simplest materials, a steep slope, fronted by the Antietam, had been converted by the rebels into a second Fredericksburg. This was all that saved them, for Gen. Meade pressed the pursuit fast and furious.

On the evening of the eleventh, Company B of the Twenty-third, Capt. Goldwait, with a company of the Seventy-first and a squad of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry were sent out on the Hagerstown road by Gen. Knipe's directions. They heard the enemy moving all night, their army being then at Hagerstown, four miles





off, and moving in two columns, one in the road and one in the fields.

On July 11, an election was had to fill the vacancies in the field officers in the Twenty-second. Maj. James Fairley Cox was elected lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. James Otis (A Company) major, George Fuller being elected captain in his place. Capt. W. W. Remmey was elected as captain of B, and Lieut. John T. Camp as its first lieutenant.





## CHAPTER XXVIII.

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### SUPPORTING KILPATRICK'S ATTACK ON HAGERSTOWN.

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ON the morning of Sunday, July 12, the Twenty-second found itself at Cavetown, almost used up. The men had had no breakfast; and, from a variety of causes, the march had been one of the most wearisome they had yet experienced. The morning was sultry and exhausting beyond expression, the atmosphere heavy, with that peculiar feeling which precedes a thunder-storm. In addition, the shoes of all were so nearly worn out that the sharp stones, which covered and almost paved a most abominable wheat-field, through which they had passed on the route, had disabled many, whose feet were just recovering from the blisters of previous marches. The route had been back to Leitersburg, then to the right, over the Cavetown road, thence across fields and up hill to a plateau overlooking Cavetown, which was seven miles southeast of Leitersburg. From there the march was down the hill to the Hagerstown pike.

On halting, the division formed line of battle across the road, facing Hagerstown, and planted its guns to command the pike. The object was to support Gen. Kilpatrick, who had gone forward that morning to



attack Hagerstown. Arms were stacked, and the regiment lay down behind them to rest, first sending details in all directions to forage for a meal.

While the men were idling around, bemoaning the condition of their feet, and discussing the chances of capturing Hagerstown, the sultry promise of the morning was amply redeemed by a most tremendous thunder-storm. The rain fell in torrents (but this was a matter of course, and excited no remark). The thunder pealed and the lightning flashed all around; too near to some. Five men of the Fifty-sixth Brooklyn were struck, one of whom died instantly. Another, who was struck blind, died shortly afterwards, and the other three were badly hurt. The pieces were stacked with fixed bayonets, from the points of which the electricity danced in constant sparkles of blue flames. As the guns were all loaded, this was interesting; yet no one dared to go near them while it continued. A gun belonging to the Thirty-seventh was shattered to pieces by the electric fluid, but, curiously, without discharging it; and several men in the different regiments were reminded, by slight shocks, that the farther they kept from the stacks of arms, the better.

During the afternoon the ears and eyes of the Twenty-second were gladdened, the one by intelligence that Hagerstown had been taken after a sharp fight, the other by the sight of their dinner (or breakfast) coming up the road, in the shape of an astonished ox, who, when he threw up his head in response to the cheers which greeted his *entrè*, was shot, skinned, and boiling, before he fairly knew what he was wanted for. Finally, the arrival and distribution of a case of shoes



to those who were actually barefoot, put the regiment in the seventh heaven of delight. They also found some tobacco ! To be sure it was poor stuff, apparently a villainous compound of seaweed and tea ; but only those who have known what it is to see their stock of the precious weed vanish day by day, with no available means of replenishing it, can imagine their feelings on finding a supply, after they had been reduced to less than a quarter of a pound to a company.

At Cavestown the writer was detailed to forage. Stopping with his squad at a little house near the main road, which was trodden into pulp, the two daughters of the house, one of them a very pretty auburn-haired girl, upon learning that their visitors had eaten nothing since the morning previous, "hustled" to get them a meal in a way which has endeared that colored hair to the whole party. While they were eating, her mother said, "First the rebs' went by, then they came back and went by again, now you Union troops is after them. *Laws a massy, I never supposed there was so many men in the whole everlasting universe.*"







## CHAPTER XXIX.

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### THE EXPECTED BATTLE.

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AT this time Gen. Meade was concentrating his forces in front of Lee, who had taken up a strong position on the heights near Williamsport, and Lee was pushing his attempts to cross the Potomac. The country people reported that the water would not subside sufficiently to allow the river to be crossed for some days, but the result proved that they were mistaken.

At about 12 o'clock on Monday, July 13, the column camped by division, some three miles from Gen. Meade's headquarters, and about the same distance from Boonesboro, at a place where the old bivouacs of the Army of the Potomac filled the air with the nauseating smells incident to deserted camps.

As the Twenty-second marched up the hill to its camping-ground, the camp-fires of the Army of the Potomac began to blaze up, extending in thousands to each side as far as the eye could reach and presenting a most beautiful sight, the finest the regiment had yet seen. In this delightful spot they waited for the battle which was "to finish the Rebellion."\*

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\* Monday was still rainy, but the thunder storm of the day before had put it out of the power of rain to wet us. We marched some five miles and then halted in the road till afternoon. We learned that the two armies



On Tuesday, July 14, the dawn brought no sign of the impending battle. About noon, distant firing was heard, probably the attack of Gen. Kilpatrick's cavalry upon the Confederates' rear guard at Falling Water, in which he captured Gen. Petigrew's force of 1,500 men and two guns. About noon the command was moved across the fields a few miles and halted near Beaver Creek, where it was formed as a part of the reserve for the coming battle. Cannonading could be heard distinctly and heavy masses of moving troops, infantry, cavalry and artillery, could be seen in every direction. On the way the column passed a line of ambulances which had stopped at a station of the Sanitary Commission. Here the good samaritans of the Commission had provided kettles of hot soup and milk-punch by the barrel, which they were dealing out to the occupants of the ambulances. These stretched out for at least two miles, the horses of one close to the rear of that in front. Each

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were in line of battle within five miles of us. About 4 p. m. we again proceeded towards Boonesboro, but so bad were the roads and so exhausted the horses, that in spite of all our efforts we were until after midnight reaching our camping-ground, a distance of but two miles. At every hill, and these were not a few, the teams had to be doubled and the cannoneers to almost lift the pieces, and even then it seemed almost impossible to get through, but it was finally accomplished. We had had but two hardtack for dinner, and no supper, but were too worn out with the severe labor to think much of hunger, mud, rain, or, indeed, anything but rest and sleep.

The morning showed our position to be near the summit of a very high hill overlooking Boonesboro and commanding a most beautiful view, bounded only by the distant Blue Ridge in Virginia. The Potomac was concealed by the high ground between ourselves and it. It was hard to realize that within the space clearly seen by us two immense armies lay in battle array, everything seemed so beautiful, so lovely and so peaceful. Within two miles of us we could see the camp of the reserve artillery and an ammunition train, the former consisting of upwards of three hundred pieces, and the latter containing five million dollars' worth of ammunition.

RAND'S DIARY.



one was crowded with men wounded in every way that the imagination can conceive of. For three-quarters of an hour the Twenty-second marched alongside of this stream of human suffering, and in that time heard no complaint. A groan was occasionally heard, but that was all.

This spectacle was not inspiring, but its effect soon passed. When the halt in the afternoon was made, all were in high spirits. It was universally supposed that the rains had made the Potomac unfordable, "and that Lee was a goner this time." But, as hour after hour passed, without a sound of the heavy cannonading which marks "the battle's opening road," and rumor after rumor filled the air, the talk grew less and less hopeful; and finally, during the afternoon, it was learned definitely that "the play was played out." Lee was gone, boots and baggage, and the hopes of the Twenty-second taking a hand in the contest which would probably have decided the war were gone with him. Perhaps it was all for the best. If Lee gave battle, it would be on selected ground, against weary troops, where every man in the Rebel Army knew he was fighting with no hope of escape, and would consequently resist to the utmost. Under these circumstances, the contest, if not doubtful, would unquestionably have been bloody beyond all precedent. Yet, it cannot well be regarded except as the loss of a great opportunity, which, if availed of, would have saved thousands of lives and millions of money.\*

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\* When Lee retreated in such mad and reckless haste across the Potomac, we were camped perhaps the nearest of any troops to the improvised bridge, I think, within a mile. That night I was on guard, and all night long I heard the sound of cavalry, the ring and rattle of arms, and all that indicates an army in headlong flight (Leland, p. 282).



The Twenty-second was now in the midst of the Army of the Potomac; and it is difficult for those inexperienced in such matters to form the least conception of the vast bulk of men and material which contributed to form that organization. Yet, huge as it was, no confusion was visible, and everything went like clockwork, even during the difficulties of that hurried pursuit.

The Twenty-second only wished that the same could be said of them. But so far was this from being the case that it was remarked by a regular officer "that there was more destitution and suffering among Smith's little division than among the whole Army of the Potomac"; and no one acquainted with the facts can deny the correctness of the assertion.

The following official letter from Gen. Ingalls, chief quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, to Gen. Meigs, the quartermaster-general, shows that he was of the opinion that somebody was greatly to blame for this condition of affairs.

Gen. Ingalls to Gen. Meigs :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF POTOMAC.

July 13, 1863.

Gen. Smith arrived last night at Cashtown with some 7,000 new troops. They come without supplies or means of transporting them. It seems incredible that these troops of Gens. Couch and Smith should be in such a bad condition, having had so long a time for preparation in a country so full of resources. Our department at Harrisburg must have acted on a small scale.\*

\* Leland says in his memoirs: Our sufferings as soldiers during this emergency were very great. I heard an officer who had been through the whole war, and through the worst of it in Virginia, declare that he had never suffered as he did with us this summer. (p. 259.) \* \* \*

From all that I learned from many intimate friends who were in the war, I believe that we, in the battery suffered to the utmost all that men can suffer in the field, short of wounds and death. (p. 260.)





As nightfall came the whole horizon was lighted up by thousands upon thousands of camp-fires, while, in the distance blazed the beacon on South Mountain, the whole forming an almost theatrical spectacle especially to those, who, like the Twenty-second, had been three weeks in the mountains.\*

It is impossible to express what a relief was experienced when the command became incorporated with the Army of the Potomac. To enter it was coming once more from the scarcity and make-shifts of the backwoods, into the light of civilization. Mounted boys rode by with New York and Philadelphia newspapers. There were people to be found, who could change a two dollar bill, and had things to sell. It was a place where greenbacks yet served as a medium of exchange, and provision trains were not more than two days behind time. In their exultation, the command even began to entertain vague hopes that, in the progress of events, their letters might possibly be forthcoming. A few were actually received and were most welcome. It was now more than two weeks since a word of news had been heard, either from home or elsewhere; and the men naturally were exceedingly anxious for a little information about matters and things in general. Their ignorance was painful on almost every subject relating to the war. On the march from Cavetown, Col. J. H. Grant of Gen. Ewen's staff, had galloped down the col-

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\* Two very picturesque scenes occur to me. One was a night after the battle of Gettysburg. The country was mountain and valley, and the two opposing armies were camped pretty generally in sight of one another. There was, I suppose, nearly half a cord of wood burning for every twelve men, and these camp-fires studded the vast landscape like countless reflections of the stars above, or, rather, as if all were stars, high or low. It was one of the most wonderful sights conceivable. (Leland, p. 281.)



umn while it was struggling through the mud, waving his hat as he passed, and shouting that Vicksburgh was taken. Beyond this the men knew nothing. Even the battle of Gettysburg, fought right under their noses, and a common topic of conversation, was to them "a tale untold," except that there had been a great battle in which the North was victorious.





## CHAPTER XXX.

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### THE MARCH TO MONOCACY JUNCTION.

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AT this time the draft riots in New York required the presence of all the National Guard, and the following orders were promulgated :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }  
July 15, 1863. }

*Special Order No. 190.*

The troops comprising the command of Brig.-Gen. W. F. Smith are released from further service with the Army of the Potomac, and will be reported back to Gen. Couch for instructions. The major-general commanding thanks Brig.-Gen. W. F. Smith and his troops for the zeal and promptitude which, amid no little privations, have marked their efforts to render this army all the assistance in their power. \* \* \*

By command of

MAJ.-GEN. MEADE.

S. WILLIAMS, *A. A. G.*

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION DEPT. OF THE SUSQUEHANNA, }  
July 15, 1863. }

*Special Order No.*

Brig.-Gen. John Ewen will take command of all the New York troops in this Division, and proceed with them to Fred-



erick, Maryland, at which point transportation will be furnished them to New York City. In parting with them, the general commanding must express his admiration of the courage and fortitude with which they have stood the toils and privations of their late marches.

By order of

BRIG.-GEN. WM. F. SMITH,

PRESTON F. WEST, *A. A. A. G.*

It rained hard all the night of Wednesday, July 15. This, however, was a matter of too common occurrence to excite any comment. In the meantime, trouble was experienced in dispatching the New York regiments to put down the riot. The orders of Gen. Couch of July 15 were to send eleven regiments. This, however, was reduced to two by Gen. Hallock, who, on the same day, calmly telegraphed Gov. Seymour "to call out sufficient militia force to quell the riot and enforce the laws in the city"—a proposition which was absurd on its face, in view of the fact that the entire National Guard of the State was then in the field, under the writer's orders. He had the grace, however, to add to his suggestion that, "if absolutely necessary, troops will be sent from the field in Maryland; but this should be avoided as long as possible. Please telegraph if you deem them necessary to assist in maintaining order."

It was absolutely necessary, and Gov. Seymour at once telegraphed as follows:

NEW YORK, July 16, 1863.

*The Secretary of War:*

SIR—There is great disorder here. It is important to have the New York and Brooklyn regiments sent here at once.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.





Secretary Stanton appears to have grasped the situation better than Gen. Hallock. He replied as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, July 16, 1863, 4:40 P. M.

His Excellency Gov. SEYMOUR, New York.

SIR—Eleven New York regiments are relieved, and are at Frederick, and will be forwarded to New York as fast as transportation can be furnished to them. \* \* \*

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*.

Thereupon Gen. Hallock's countermanding order was countermanded.

The same day (July 16), the division, in pursuance of these orders and cordially cheering Gen. Smith as they marched past him, took up its line of march for Frederick City, *and home*; first, however, going a mile towards Hagerstown, and having to countermarch back. This was nothing new to them, however, for, whether it was owing to ill luck, bad guides, indefinite orders, or stupidity, something of the kind was apt to occur at most of the movements that took place. The brigade under Gen. Ewen's command seldom turned down a side road, or took an unusual direction, without a general grumble arising in the ranks—"Wrong road, of course! see if we don't have to go back in a few minutes,"—and they generally did. In truth, they went back so often, that they began to hate the very word "countermarch."

On the way, the Twenty-second witnessed an inspiring sight. The cavalry of the Army of the Potomac were pushing out in pursuit of Lee. Some reviewing officer, supposed to be Gen. Meade, could be seen upon an elevation in the distance, and the cavalry swept around and in front of him, squadron front, in line after line.



like waves of the sea in an interminable column, until it seemed as if they were riding in a circle, as in a theatre.

While those in authority had been informed by telegraph, respecting the riots in New York; the first that the Twenty-second knew about the matter was, on obtaining on the march, that memorable New York newspaper, describing how the "military fired on the people." If any of the editors of that journal had happened to be in the vicinity of the column about that period, it is more than probable that they would have been furnished with a practical illustration of their text, for a more angry set of men than the New York National Guard never was seen.

It was sufficiently galling to know that, while they were away, enduring all kinds of hardships to expel the invaders from Northern soil, an attempt had been made to create a counter-revolution in their very homes; but the additional reflection of the opportunity it would give their Pennsylvania friends to depreciate their State, gave the matter an additional sting to the New York troops. That day was the first time that any one in the Twenty-second was heard to say that he felt ashamed to think that he was born in the city of New York.

As may well be imagined, this intelligence, and the pleasing uncertainty existing in the minds of the regiment respecting the welfare of their friends and homes, considerably accelerated their desire to get to New York, and they pushed vigorously down the Fredericksburg pike, breathing prayers, the reverse of benevolent, to the welfare of the rioters, until they could attend to them in person. Under any other circumstances it



would have been a beautiful march. Although oppressively hot in the early part of the day, the weather afterward was all that could be desired. The road was macadamized, wide and smooth, although tremendously hard for feet as sore and badly shod as those of the regiment and in its windings through the passes of the South Mountain, traversing a few more hills than were strictly agreeable. Yet more beautiful scenery than it presents to the eye of the traveler can rarely be found.\*

That country was all historic ground. The white boards on the right, "covering many a rood," marked the last resting-places of the thousands of unknown heroes who sealed their patriotism with their blood in the battle of South Mountain. All along the stone fences and among the trees on the left, the frequent bullet-marks told how hot the conflict raged the preceding year, for every foot of



MARCHING THROUGH MARYLAND.

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\* We often marched and camped in the valley of the Cumberland and in Maryland, in deep valleys, by roaring torrents, or "on mountains high," in scenery untrodden by any artist or tourist, of marvelous grandeur and beauty. One day we came upon a scene which may be best described by the fact that my brother and I both stopped, and both cried out at once, "Switzerland" (Leland, pp. 260, 261).



land for twenty miles around has been a battle-ground for the contending forces.

At noon a halt was made and the column rested for an hour by the road-side, the men taking off their shoes, shifting their stockings to rest their feet, eating the hard-tack, with which they were now supplied, and taking a short nap.

The day was favorable, the heat not being excessive. When the march was resumed the column kept well together and presented a magnificent spectacle as the long line wound up and down the hills.

Occasionally the drum corps would beat a refrain and the whole regiment would burst into a chorus. At other times the different companies would sing, all, of course different songs. Sound, it may be remarked, moves so slowly that it is very difficult for a column to sing together.

On reaching the crest of the Catoctin Mountain a sudden turn in the road unrolled before the division a superb panorama. The valley of the Monocacy and a vast spread of adjacent country lay before them, in the midst of which would be seen the spires of Frederick City, forming a beautiful spectacle.

The regiment arrived at the city at about eight in the evening. They found it a bustling little place, full of soldiers, and with many ladies who loyally applauded the passing troops. It was certainly not a great city; but, to the Twenty-second, it appeared a little Paradise. It was a place where you could buy things, and although the Seventh, who had been stationed there, had objected to the food there procurable, the Twenty-second's only grievance was that they could not get any of it.





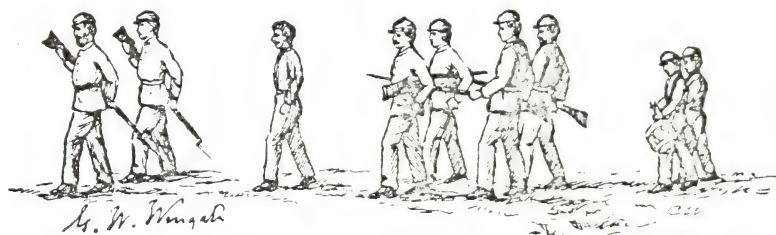
Expecting to start directly for home, the division, without halting, continued its march through the city to within a quarter of a mile of the railroad depot, which, for some unknown reason, is situated about three miles from the city. But, as usual, they were doomed to disappointment. Whether the cars were ready or not is unknown. But, after a long consultation among the officers, it was settled that the regiment could go no further, and at about 8 o'clock it went into camp in a wood near the railroad, having completed a march of over twenty-five miles since breakfast, with little or no straggling.

The men had been inspired by their intense desire to get home and put down the riots, and had needed no urging. They had suffered, however, greatly. They had been marching for weeks previously upon soft dirt roads. The shoes of many scarcely hung together, and the hard, macadamized road blistered their feet terribly. Many did not feel it while moving, but when their feet cooled after halting, the pain was intense. The writer, whose feet had previously never troubled him found, that night on halting, that he had blisters on each foot the size of his little finger. When, after lying down a short time, he stood up, he could not bear his weight on them; and there were many in a similar condition. One member of the Fifty-sixth Brooklyn, a stalwart workingman, died half an hour after reaching camp.

All day Friday, July 17, the regiment "loafed" under the trees, devouring the stock in trade of the sutlers who had come down to trade with them, and restlessly waiting under orders to start at a moment's notice. The day was marked by the drumming out of



a member of one of the New York regiments, who had been detected in robbing a sick comrade. Half his head was shaved and his buttons cut off. He was then placed between two files, the front men at reverse arms and the rear ones at charge bayonets. He was walked up and down, in this way, in front of the regiment, and then turned adrift, being kicked for quite a distance by a volunteer detail.



Drumming out a thief at Monrovia Junction





## CHAPTER XXXI.

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### THE START FOR HOME.

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AT about six P. M., the Thirty-seventh and Eleventh struck camp and marched off for the cars, amid the cheering of the whole division. But no orders came for the Twenty-second, and after waiting till half-past nine P. M., they went to sleep. At exactly eleven o'clock, an orderly dashed up: "The regiment is to take the cars forthwith." The word passed from mouth to mouth like lightning, and in less than no time the men were awakened, formed, and marching off "for home."

They had to go precisely a quarter of a mile and get into the cars, which had been standing all day on the track; and how long can any civilian, unacquainted with military manœuvres, imagine it took them to get on board? Not an hour, nor half an hour, but *five hours and a half*, by the watch, elapsed from the time they started till they got into those cars. As it was raining in torrents all the while, it is not difficult to imagine the benedictions that were freely bestowed on every one, supposed to be concerned in the matter. When the regiment had gone about a hundred yards from camp, the order came to "halt." After a little time they were told to "rest." Seeing no signs of a move-



ment, and a heavy rain having come up, the men unrolled their rubber blankets, and the cooler hands wrapped themselves up and lay down to sleep in the middle of the hard road, while the others "took it out in swearing." In about an hour "Fall in!" was heard. The sleeping men woke up, shook themselves, and the regiment marched another hundred yards, where the same scene was repeated. Starting for the third time, they turned away from the main road, and marched along the field to the depot, thinking they were "off this time, *sure*." Vain thought! When they got on the bank, overlooking the railroad track, not a car was to be seen. There they stood in the midst of a drenching rain, on a slippery clay slope, where it was impossible to sit down, tired and sleepy as men could well be, for nearly two hours before the cars, after a little eternity of backing and switching, were pronounced ready for them. The moment the cars (freight) were reached, every one threw himself on the floor, and, in spite of wet clothes, dirty floors, and leaky roofs, knew nothing more till daylight dawned on them entering Baltimore.

With the mention of the word *Baltimore*, the word *breakfast* is intimately associated in the minds of those of the regiment, who served in this campaign.

Oh! that first good civilized breakfast, with forks, and chairs, and the other appliances of civilized life—the pen fails in the endeavor to do justice to that repast!

Yet, in spite of the threats that were made of the quantities that would be eaten; and, although it was near one o'clock before breakfast was obtained, the men were disgusted to find their systems so disorganized by





a habit of taking breakfast late in the afternoon, and omitting the other meals altogether, that half the things that they ordered, could not be disposed of. In fact, it was at least three days after their return to the bosom of their families, before they could manage three regular meals a day, without feeling uncomfortable. This sensation soon wore off, and when it did, ample amends were made by all for past abstinence.

From Baltimore to New York was a short and uneventful journey, and at half past six p. m., on the 18th day of July, the Twenty-second found themselves swinging up Broadway, glad to be home once more, but sorry enough to think that they were denied the pleasure of a shot at the rioters. And, although a long and aggravating tour of duty at home was still before them, here ended their eventful campaign.

If anything was required to put an end to the idea that the National Guard regiments were mere "Broadway troops, good for playing soldier, but who would be found wanting if subjected to the stern realities of a soldier's life," it was effected by what they had done and suffered in this campaign.

Marching one hundred and seventy miles in less than three weeks, in the most inclement weather, through mountain passes and over abominable roads, upon ten days' rations without a change of clothing and in expectation of an attack at any moment (the Twenty-second alone forming line of battle over nineteen times), constituted a record which would do credit to any troops, and they felt that they had earned the thanks tendered to them by Gen. Meade and Gen. Smith, in their official orders.



That their services and hardships have not been exaggerated, is shown by the following extract from the official report to Gen. Meade, of Gen. "Baldy" Smith:

Before closing, I must call to the remembrance of the general commanding the force, that I moved without a quartermaster, or commissary, without supply trains, some regiments even being without haversacks, and with no adequate transportation of the cooking utensils of the men, and must pay the proper tribute to the general behavior of the troops during long marches, in rainy weather and without sufficient food. The rugged mountain roads left many of them barefooted, but the greater portion of the command seemed animated by a desire to do all that was required in the service of their country.

Gen. Couch closes his report as follows:

The Governor of New York pushed forward his regiments with alacrity. They were generally armed and equipped ready for field service, and their arrival brought confidence.

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New Jersey sent one battalion of infantry that remained until after the invasion.

Number of prisoners reported, 1,341, of whom nearly 500 were taken under arms, 400 wounded, and the remainder stragglers and deserters. This does not include quite a number who escaped through the mountains and went north, being aided in this by the citizens.

The following is an extract from the report of Lieut. Woodruff Jones of Landis' Battery:

The sufferings of the Pennsylvania and New York Militia belonging to the First Division will never be realized or appreciated. The majority of them were young men from the higher walks of life, accustomed to luxury and refinement. After marching and countermarching, varied with almost constant skirmishing and picket duty in front of Harrisburg for over a week, they were marched, on short supplies of rations, eighteen



miles to Carlisle, under a burning sun. Then, without time or opportunity to rest, they set out on their mountain march, again short of rations. The heavy rains swelled their feet and shrunk their shoes, and the subsequent rocks and stones caused their feet to become, in many cases, one immense blister, compelling them to march barefoot, a miserable relief. In other instances the shoes would entirely give out, the sole separating from the upper. This state of things, trying as it would be to veteran soldiers, was doubly severe on those unaccustomed to it. To this must be added the almost entire absence of commissary stores.

The regiment, while proud of what it had done, did not, however, feel that it had been properly handled by Gen. Ewen.

It is an elementary maxim that soldiers will not serve with any credit under a man they do not respect. When troops find their leaders ignorant of the first rules of military life, obliged to ask information from subordinates, and constantly sneered at as ignoramus by those who do know what they are about, they speedily become discontented and suspicious, and in that condition their efficiency becomes largely impaired.

Col. Aspinwall and the other officers of the Twenty-second had learned their duty in previous campaigns; and by the manner in which they handled their men, and the care with which they looked after their welfare, earned at once the gratitude and respect of their command. And this remark is also true of such men as Col. (since Major-Gen.) Woodward of the Thirteenth, Col. Everdell of the Twenty-third, and the other regimental commanders. But, what would have happened to the division generally, and to the Fourth Brigade in particular, if it had not been for their



regimental officers, it is difficult to foresee. Hence, it was suggested as an addition to the prayer book, "from long marches, wet weather, short commons, and militia generals, good Lord, deliver us."

The hardships of this campaign told heavily upon the Twenty-second. The health of a number of them was permanently affected and several died. Among the latter, none was more regretted than Lieut. Wm. C. Soutter, first lieutenant of Company G. His family were Virginians, and Confederates. He felt deeply that the cause of the North was just, and, although delicate in health, served both at Harper's Ferry and in Pennsylvania. On the night of July 2, while his company slept in the mud on the top of South Mountain, his shoes were badly burned on his feet by a camp-fire. He was so exhausted by fatigue that he did not discover it until they were in such a bad condition that he was obliged to throw them away. In spite of remonstrances from his Captain, he continued to march with his company barefoot, until Captain Howland procured him a pair from one of the privates who was too sick to proceed farther. On the march from Boonesboro to Frederick, he was almost exhausted, but refused to ride, and continued the march. While in sight of the town, he became so faint that he would have dropped, if he had not made the men near him march so that he could lean upon them. He thus kept himself upright, until the regiment passed through the town. Captain Howland urged him to go to a house in town, and he promised to do so, but, when the regiment went into camp, he appeared, refusing to leave his company, and insisted in sharing its privations.





He died in a month or two after the return of the Twenty-second, deeply mourned by his company. He was one of the finest young men in the country. Generous, warm-hearted, brave and loyal to the core, he gave his life to his country as much as if he had died in battle.





## CHAPTER XXXII.

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### THE DRAFT RIOTS AND GUARD DUTY.

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WHILE the main body of the Twenty-second was in active service in the field, the few who had been prevented from accompanying them were not idle. Shortly before the Fourth of July, 1863, which was the high water mark of the Rebellion; a day which will ever be memorable from the fact that it was that, on which the tide was turned by the capture of Vicksburg and the victory of Gettysburg, the Provost-Marshal of the City of New York, with a plentiful lack of wisdom, began to enforce the "Draft" or conscription law. The War, or rather the mode, in which it was carried on, was violently opposed by many. The draft in itself was unpopular, particularly among the lower classes of naturalized citizens. Besides this, great discontent had arisen from the method, by which the enrollment had been made, and vehement assertions were made by politicians and newspapers opposed to the administration, that it had been manipulated for partisan purposes. Taking advantage of this sentiment, a number of Confederate emissaries had worked up a strong feeling among certain classes in the city on the subject, and the beginning of the draft was followed by an outbreak, which led to an attack upon the Provost-Marshal's office, then situated



on Broadway and Twenty-eighth Street, where the International Hotel now (1895) stands, and to its being set on fire. This was followed by other uprisings, which soon assumed the dimensions of a great riot. Then, as is the case whenever there is an outbreak which the police authorities are unable to control, all the disorderly elements of the great city, those whom Henry George calls the Goths and Vandals of civilization, sprang to the front, and converted what was intended to be a movement against the enforcement of the "draft" into a mob, bent on pillage and destruction. It was known that the National Guard was all absent, and feeling that they could defy the police, this mob spread over all parts of the city, and conducted its work almost with impunity. They visited the buildings, manufactories and other places where workmen were employed, and compelled them to stop work and to join with the rioters.

The day after the burning of the draft offices at Yorkville, and the Broadway block on Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth streets, there was an attack upon a gun factory in Twenty-third street, and many other buildings were sacked. The negroes were a special mark for attack, and it was dangerous for one to be seen. Many were attacked and beaten, or hung to the lamp posts without the slightest reason. Even the Colored Orphan Asylum was burned, and the poor little destitute children were turned into the street. The situation in the city was indescribable. Men were openly robbed in the streets, all business was stopped, the stages ceased running, and everyone was in fearful expectation of injury to their persons and property.



That portion of the armory of the Twenty-second, on Fourteenth Street, in which the officers' and company rooms were afterwards situated, was then under construction and a number of laborers were employed upon it. What was then the armory proper, that is the part afterwards known as the Gymnasium Building, was in charge of Sergt. George Arnold, the regimental armorer. Although the Enfield rifles and sword bayonets used by the regiment were all in the hands of those of its members who were in service, there were in the cellar 114 rifles with shank bayonets which had been used by the recruits of 1862, 4,500 rounds of ball cartridges (both of which Sergt. Arnold hid in the cellar when the riot broke out), and some fatigue uniforms. About noon on July 14, information was given confidentially to Sergt. Arnold by one of the workmen that the laborers intended to strike and join the rioters. George N. Gardner, a private in Company I, at once posted notices upon all the newspaper bulletin boards requesting all members and ex-members of the Twenty-second who were in the city to report at the armory at 2 o'clock on July 15, and an advertisement to the same purport was taken to the *Tribune* by Right General Guide May Goldschmidt. The *Tribune* was then expecting an attack, the rioters having threatened to burn it out. Its publication office was closed and barred and it was with difficulty that Sergt. Goldschmidt obtained admittance to the editorial rooms. These presented a decidedly military appearance, as editors, reporters and printers had procured arms and were prepared to defend the building to the bitter end. For almost the first time in the history of a great newspaper a person bringing





an advertisement was regarded as an enemy and obliged to explain who and what he was before he could gain admittance and have his money accepted. All of the Twenty-second who were in town and learned of the notice reported promptly. They were organized, armed, and uniforms were issued to such as were without them. Together they made a body of 116 strong, besides several officers, among whom were ex-Capt. Butler and ex-Lieuts. Gibson and Lord, of G Company, and Lieut. Townsend Cox of C Company. In the evening the command was marched to the Seventh Regiment Armory over Tompkins Market, where they reported to Major Nivers and united with the members of the Seventh Regiment who had not gone to the front, and who had assembled in like manner. At 9 o'clock the detachment of the Twenty-second and 70 men of the Seventh under Capts. Riblet and Ely were formed, loaded their rifles and marched down Seventh Street to the East River to protect Webb's shipyard. This was the great shipyard at which the ram *Dunderberg*, subsequently purchased by the French, was under construction for the government, together with a number of other vessels; and private information had been received that it was intended by the mob to destroy them. This march was not without excitement. The neighborhood was the resort of "toughs." Not a lamp was lit in the streets, the cobble stones were slippery with the drizzling rain that was falling, and every now and then a hole in the pavement would trip up some of the men, whose fall would be ascribed to the effect of some missile thrown from a roof. The only light was the fitful flashes of some burning factory or store-



house, that the mob were sacking in some adjacent streets—which were but a few of the many incendiary fires that lit up the sky over New York during every night of that eventful riot. Occasionally squads of men on corners would scowl and jeer at the passing soldiers, but the force was too strong for them to attack and they allowed them to pass unmolested. Upon one respectable looking block they were greatly surprised to be greeted with hand clapping from the windows of some of the houses, which startled them more than the jeers and shouts of the crowds through which they had forced their way. At length they reached the shipyard, into which they filed by the light of several lanterns, and mounted a guard around it, the detachment of the Twenty-second taking the Seventh Street side and that of the Seventh that on Sixth Street. Those not on the reliefs of the guards slept as best they might on straw thrown among the ship timber.

The sun rose pleasantly the next morning upon a body of men who might have been happier. The transition from a comfortable bed to a night's sleep on ship timber, in a drizzling rain, was something sudden. Taken in connection with the fact that none of them had had anything to eat since the day before, and that, in the haste of departure, no provision had been made for supplies or rations, the prospect for food looked somewhat gloomy. The detachment was a small one, and all the men were needed to protect what was considered an important point. The force of rioters on the east side of the city was so great that it was not safe to send out a detachment unless of considerable



strength, which would leave an insufficient force to defend the yard ; so the men were obliged to go without anything to eat. About 11 A. M., however, a bevy of ladies from the neighborhood appeared, loaded with kettles, baskets and cans, containing food for the troops. They had been sitting in their homes, with barricaded windows and doors, in great fear, for two days; and they made a substantial acknowledgment of the relief that the presence of the soldiers afforded by bringing them some breakfast. It is a striking commentary upon the conditions which existed at this time that during the whole week that was spent by this detachment in the shipyard they were thus fed by the neighbors, no rations being sent them. It is unnecessary to say that the greater part of the food furnished by these hospitable friends was such as is usually served up at a tea, rather than such as a soldier desires and needs. Cake, pie and similar delicacies soon became monotonous for a steady diet; and at the end of the week the men, if they could have had their choice, would have preferred plain pork to the nicest cake which the neighborhood could furnish.

The second day after their arrival the detachment was reënforced by a howitzer and a crew of sailors from the Navy Yard, which added very much to their strength. They spent a week drilling, and mounting guard during the day and sleeping on the timber at night, few of the authorities knowing where they were. Several times they sallied out to attack the mob, but it did not dare to meet them, and fell back before their advance, while the soldiers could not follow, for fear of leaving the shipyard undefended.



The truth is that while the police did splendidly, the management of the military forces during the riots was most inefficient. Gen. Wool, and Gen. Brown of the army, and Gen. Sandford of the National Guard, all of whom were old men, were at cross purposes, and there was an utter lack of the firm, energetic action which was indispensable in such an emergency. In the report of Edwards S. Sandford to the Secretary of War of July 16, he states: \*

It is impossible to ascertain how many troops there are here, owing to the conflict of authority under which each officer will report those belonging to himself, and all others. Yesterday an officer received, at nearly the same time, five conflicting orders from as many commanders-in-chief!

The other reports show that this was not exaggerated. Some of the Twenty-second who served in one of the parties sent out to disperse the mobs, found the same weakness. Although shot at and stoned, the strictest orders were given against firing. The result, of course, was, to embolden the rioters, so that when the troops did fire, many more men had to be shot than would have been the case if the action had been vigorous in the first instance. In fact, it would have been much better if, instead of breaking up the troops into small parties to guard different points, these had been reduced to a minimum, and the main force sent out in strong parties, with orders to attack the mob with the utmost vigor, whenever and wherever it was encountered.

On July 16, 1863, the detachment of the Twenty-second was relieved by a detail of regulars, and marched

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\* Rebellion Record, Series 1, Volume 27, Part 2, Sec. 891.





back to the armory, which they guarded until the arrival of the regiment. Several of the men, including the author's brother, J. Phelps Wingate (Company A), were subsequently attacked with typhoid fever and similar diseases, from sleeping near the outlet of the large sewer which emptied into the East River, near Webb's Shipyard. Some of these never fully recovered their health and strength.

The Twenty-second, upon its return, found New York in a most demoralized condition. The draft riots had swept over it like a tornado. Many buildings had been burned, many people killed, and all were uncertain what might occur. While the return of the troops strengthened the public authorities and restored quiet, it was not considered safe to dismiss them; they were, therefore, held in their armories, only a portion being allowed to leave at a time. This was very hard on the men on the night of their arrival. They were burning with anxiety to see their families, of whose safety they were in ignorance. They were also so dirty that their clothes were foul, and they were eager for a bath and a change of underclothing. But it was orders, and they obeyed. On July 19, the regiment was relieved for a day, except a strong guard, with orders to report immediately in case of a disturbance. Half the regiment was then ordered on guard on alternate days, beginning on July 20.

The then armory of the Twenty-second was wholly unfitted for men to live in, and it was a great relief when, after remaining there for a week, the regiment was sent to Elm Park, at what is now Columbus Avenue and Ninetieth Street, where it went into camp to guard the



Croton Aqueduct. Here it remained for two weeks more. The draft being renewed on August 17, apprehensions of a disturbance led to the calling out of the whole division. The Twenty-second kept half of each company on duty until September 5, and a guard of half a company was kept on duty in the armory until September 15. This duty was probably the most dull, monotonous and disagreeable that the Twenty-second ever performed. It was greatly worse than guarding Spinola's Brigade the year before, because in that case there was a specific object in sight and actual soldier's work to do, with a spice of danger. Here there was nothing to contend against, no rioters in sight, and nothing to do but "loaf," while everybody had long-neglected and pressing business to attend to. The effect upon the regiment was distinctly bad, and caused many of its members to leave the service on the first available occasion.

The men felt the tedium of the duty more than they should have done from the fact that there were but very few drills and practically no military work beyond a little sentry duty. In addition everything was allowed to run very loosely. This was a great mistake. Repeated experience in the Twenty-second demonstrates that when the regiment is called into service it should at once be put under thorough discipline and kept there until it is dismissed, every military formality being as carefully preserved as would be the case in a State camp. The men should not be left idle, but should be kept at work at drills and instruction, so that they will be occupied, kept interested and their presence insured. Any military movements that may



be expected to be performed should be carefully rehearsed, particularly the firings and sentry work, and careful inspections should be had to see that every man is provided with what he needs and is not loaded down with what he does not need and cannot carry. Athletic games should also be started and, whenever practicable, short marches taken into the neighboring streets. By proper attention to these points a tour of duty in an armory will be a benefit to an organization. If they are neglected it will tend toward demoralization.





## CHAPTER XXXIII.

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### TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

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IN the early part of 1864 a great fair, for the benefit of the "Sanitary Commission," was organized, in which the whole city took part and which was regarded as a municipal effort to add to the fund for relieving the sick and wounded soldiers of the Union. The Twenty-second tendered its armory for the use of the fair. The offer was gratefully accepted, and the city authorities, to aid the fair and help the regiment, constructed, upon the vacant lots adjoining the headquarters building, the large drill-room, which was for twenty-six years the home of the Twenty-second. This was in its day considered one of the finest armories in the country. The drill-room was upon the ground-floor and had a floor-space of 150 by 200 feet with a gallery on the south side. When first built, this room was practically divided into two parts by three brick piers, each four feet square, which were placed at intervals across its centre to support the cross-girders. These almost ruined it for drill purposes, but, in 1865, the regiment was able to have them removed and each replaced by a cluster of four small iron columns two feet apart.





This, for the first time, enabled the entire space of the room to be utilized for drill purposes, and rendered battalion drills possible, as the men soon learned to pass through the columns without disturbing their formation. The opening of the fair was celebrated by a parade of the entire First Division. The fair itself lasted during April, May and June, and was an extraordinary success, resulting in raising a very large sum of money for the Sanitary Commission. The ladies having charge of the "lingerie department" had been given by Company A the use of its room, which was elegantly decorated and furnished and was the only one of the company rooms which was completed. They manifested their appreciation of the compliment by presenting the company with a solid silver salver, pitcher and set of goblets. The company subsequently presented these to its captain, Edward M. Townsend, after he had been elected major.

During 1864 and 1865, the question of whether the regiment would be again called into service arose at every reverse of the Union troops in the East, which was not an infrequent incident. This summons was regarded as being certain to happen at the time of Early's raid upon Washington in 1864, an attempt which came much nearer being successful than is commonly supposed. The officers and men of the regiment were therefore obliged to keep themselves constantly in readiness to respond to such a call, should it be made, and the apprehension of it compelled many men to leave the regiment, whose business or family relations were such as to render it impossible for them to serve in the field. It also made recruiting difficult. Those who were so situated as to be able to leave, enlisted in the



volunteers. Those who could not do so were unwilling to belong to an organization which was liable at any time to be called into active service.

None but those who actually served during that period can appreciate the constant strain it was upon the regiment, when no one could tell but what the next day might bring orders for the field.

On March 17, 1864, Col. Aspinwall tendered his resignation, being compelled to go abroad. At the urgent request of the Board of Officers, who were unwilling to lose his services, he was induced to withdraw it, and take a year's leave of absence. Lieut.-Col. James F. Cox assumed command of the regiment, and vigorously pushed its military instruction, in order to keep it in condition for service, having open-air drills every Saturday afternoon during April and May, in the Columbia College property, at Fifth Avenue and Forty-ninth Street, then an open field.

A draft to fill the vacant ranks in the volunteer army was ordered to take place in July, 1864, and from apprehensions that another riot might take place, a guard was ordered to be kept in each of the National Guard armories, including that of the Twenty-second. This guard went on duty in July, 1864, and was continued all through the summer. After a few weeks the strength of the guard was reduced, but it was increased in November, when the excited state of public feeling caused by the election for President rendered the situation more critical. This, like the previous guard duty, was monotonous and disagreeable.

In February, 1865, when a further draft took place, great apprehensions were entertained of another riot.



A guard of one company was kept at the armory of the Twenty-second for eight days, one-half of the men being constantly upon duty. A similar guard was maintained in the other National Guard armories, and all the commands held themselves in readiness to report forthwith in case of any disturbance. As is usually the case, the knowledge that the authorities were possessed of a military force ready to put down, with bullets, any attempt to interfere, by force, with the administration of the law prevented its occurring.

The regiment made a street parade upon Inauguration Day, March 4, 1865. It also paraded, with other regiments and the regular troops, on April 10, 1865, at the funeral of Gen. Winthrop, who had fallen at Petersburg.

On April 14, 1865, the members of the Twenty-second, who had been rejoicing over the great victories of the Union Army, and the conviction that the surrender of the Confederate forces had restored peace, were, in common with the whole of the loyal North, plunged into the deepest grief at the astounding intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln. The Fourteenth Street armory was at once draped in mourning, including the company rooms. That of Company B displayed a mourning figure prepared by Thomas Nast, then one of its members, which excited much admiration. On April 24, 1865, the Twenty-second participated in the great funeral procession which escorted the remains of the martyred President through the heavily-draped streets of the city, and formed in line to "present arms," as the hearse which carried his body moved solemnly past, amid the silent grief of the crowds



which thronged every avenue of approach. This was an occasion that will never be forgotten by anyone who participated in it.

On July 4, 1865, the regiment took part in a great parade held to celebrate the advent of peace. Subsequently during that year it paraded several times as escort to different regiments returning from the field, whose tattered flags and ranks, depleted sometimes to less than 100 men, entitled them to all the honor that could be shown them.







## CHAPTER XXXIV.

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### AFTER THE WAR.

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FRANKNESS compels the conclusion that the close of the Great Rebellion left the Twenty-second in an unpromising condition. While that was no worse than was the case with the other organizations of the National Guard, the position of the regiment was nevertheless serious and its prospects gloomy. This continued until about 1870, when the introduction of rifle-practice helped to create a renewed interest, and the general military situation began to improve. It can hardly, however, be said that the National Guard has ever regained as much popular interest as it possessed prior to and during the War.

The impaired condition of the Twenty-second, between 1865 and 1870, arose from a variety of reasons.

The general condition of affairs in the National Guard is aptly stated by Gen. Emmons Clark in his "History of the Seventh Regiment," as follows (the author speaking, of course, of the Seventh and not of the Twenty-second :)

There was some reason to doubt the future of the regiment. The financial and business affairs of the city were so unsettled that there was no permanency to enlistments, and there was constant change in the membership of companies. Many of



the most active and valuable members had left the ranks for active service in the field as officers of volunteers, and their places had been filled by new recruits, with the varied motives for enlistment peculiar to the period. The new accessions were not always valuable, and the *esprit du corps* of the regiment, already somewhat impaired, was not likely to improve.

These words were as applicable to the Twenty-second as to the Seventh. From motives of patriotism, many officers and men of the former had remained in service at a great personal sacrifice, as long as fighting was going on, so as to be ready to respond with their regiment if it should be called upon for active service. But when the Rebellion was ended and all danger to the country had ceased, they felt that the necessity for further personal sacrifice on their part no longer existed and took their discharges. During the last two or three years of the War the pressure upon National Guardsmen, arising from the constant liability they were under of being hastily ordered into service in the field, and from their being frequently called upon to leave their business to perform long tours of guard duty, had been increasing and had become exceedingly onerous, the constant anticipation and uncertainty being often worse than the reality. It had consequently been more and more difficult in the Twenty-second, as was the case in other organizations, to maintain its membership and yet keep up its standard in the selection of its recruits. In particular, a number of the class of wealthy young men who had hastened to enlist in it during the excitement caused by the firing upon Sumter, had left the regiment to take commissions in the volunteers. Others had found their enthusiasm insufficient to last them throughout the hard-



ships of the two campaigns in which the regiment had served, and the necessity of conducting their business for a series of years in such a manner as to meet the constant probability of the command being again called into service. They consequently dropped out whenever they could, and it was impossible, in the then existing condition of affairs, to wholly replace them with as desirable material.

Another matter which had affected the Twenty-second to some extent was that several of its members of high social and business standing, who had found themselves unable to leave their business and families when the regiment was called into the field, had sent their clerks to fill their places. These had served faithfully and had become popular with their comrades, so that many of them who, upon their return, desired to become permanent members of the companies in which they had served, were elected to membership. This had a tendency to create something of a social breach in some of the companies.

These, however, were all minor matters of a temporary character.

The real and great difficulty that the National Guard had to experience after the War, and from which it suffered for a number of years, was an absolute and utter lack of interest in military matters on the part of the public. The people now regarded soldiering as a serious and bloody business, and were heartily sick of it. War pictures would not sell. War stories could find no publisher. To those who were daily accustomed to read of great battles and military manoeuvres upon a grand scale, the idea of joining a National Guard



regiment, to make street-parades and to drill in an armory, seemed like "playing at soldiering." For a number of years after peace was restored it was in consequence a hard matter for the officers of the Twenty-second, as it was for those of other organizations, to maintain its strength and efficiency, and they are consequently entitled to great credit for the success they achieved.

With a few conspicuous exceptions, the enlistment of veterans of the War in the National Guard was not a success. Some of them proved to be the best of soldiers. But, as a rule, instead of being models, they were more apt to be found to have acquired careless military habits, to be disposed to consider that they "knew it all," and, therefore, not willing to study, and to resent all criticism for the errors which they were constantly making.

In December, 1864, the regiment received from the State \$6,154 on account of uniforms worn out in service in 1863, which was a great help to it at the time.

On October 12, 1864, the dissensions that had existed for some time in Companies E and K had become so pronounced as to lead to their disbandment. On February 22, 1865, the city honored the Twenty-second Regiment by the presentation of a stand of colors, the presentation being made by the Hon. John E. Develin.

On May 20, 1865, the condition of the National Guard regiments was such as to induce the authorities to order a general parade and inspection, to determine which of them should be disbanded and which retained. The Twenty-second made a fine appearance, but many regiments did not, and a number of them were disbanded by the State within a short time thereafter.





The meeting of the Board of Officers, held August 8, 1865, was notable as that at which Josiah Porter, subsequently the colonel of the regiment, and afterwards Adjutant-General of the State, was first introduced by Capt. Howland, who had secured his election to the captaincy of Company G, from which the former had just resigned.

During 1865 Col. Aspinwall offered a set of medals for proficiency in drill, one to go to the best-drilled non-commissioned officer, or man in each company. The drill for these was public, and the competition was keen. They were publicly presented to the successful candidates at a parade of the regiment held November 21, 1865, after speeches by Col. Aspinwall and Gens. Sandford and Barlow. These medals were again competed for and presented on April 24, 1868.

The following is a list of the winners of these medals:

Co.	1865.	1868.
A	Sergt. Geo. B. Goldschmidt.	Sergt. E. A. Cunningham.
B	“ John D. Edwards.	Privt. E. D. McMurray.
C	Capt. William Taylor.	“ S. E. Briggs.
D	Sergt. Theo. H. Freeland.	Corp. Joel R. Park.
E	Vacant.	Privt. J. A. Vose.
F	Sergt. Edward Russell.	Sergt. J. H. Greenfield.
G	“ John Briggs.	“ Thos. Comiski.
H	Privt. William Wallace.	Corp. Donald Van Schaick.
I	Sergt. Theo. F. Allen.	Privt. Edgar Lugar.

On December 1, 1865, the regiment, to its great regret, was deprived of the services of Col. Aspinwall, who was on that day elected to the command of the Fourth Brigade. The Board of Officers passed appropriate resolutions of regret, but recognizing “that



his promotion was the due reward of military talent, executive ability and long and able service." He was succeeded by Lieut.-Col. James Farley Cox, Maj. Geo. B. Post being elected lieutenant-colonel and Capt. Edward M. Townsend (Company A) major.



COL. JAMES F. COX.

Col. Cox was one of the original members of the Twenty-second, having been elected first-lieutenant of Company A when it was first organized. At the time of the departure of the regiment in 1862 he was detailed to the command of Company D, was elected captain of that company in the field, and, in the same campaign, was promoted to be major. In 1863 he was elected in the field to be lieutenant-colonel. Col. Cox had been in command of the regiment during Col. Aspinwall's absence, which had covered nearly twelve months before the election, so that for some time before he was actually elected he had practically come to be regarded as its colonel.

Personally, he was a tall, fine-looking man, with black hair and side-whiskers, and very pleasant manners. He was always genial and friendly, yet dignified and firm. A thoroughly good officer, with a complete knowledge of the tactics, he was extremely popular in every command he had ever held. During the period he commanded the Twenty-second, he maintained without friction the regimental standard of efficiency in spite of many difficulties, and instituted many valuable improvements in the regimental administration. One of the most useful of these was the establishment of a regi-



mental board for the examination of non-commissioned officers. These were first appointed on March 26, 1866, two years before such boards were required by general orders to be established, and their appointment was a most useful regulation.

Col. Cox's business affairs only allowed him to retain the position of colonel for a short period after his election, and in September, 1867, he was compelled to resign, greatly to the regret of the regiment.

He was succeeded on February 8, 1867, by Lieut.-Col. George B. Post, who had, in the meantime, commanded the regiment, Capt. William W. Remmey (Company B) being elected lieutenant-colonel. On May 21, 1867, Capt. Josiah Porter was elected major, Maj. Townsend having been appointed upon the brigade staff.

Col. Post was then a well-known architect, and has since become celebrated in connection with his professional work at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and with many prominent buildings in New York. He had originally commanded Company C from its organization to November, 1863, when he was elected major. He was made lieutenant-colonel in 1865. He was a handsome man, tall and fair, with a long blonde mustache, amiable and kind in his manners, and a good tactician, but was considered by some to be a little too easy as a disciplinarian. He commanded the regiment,



COL. GEORGE B. POST.



however, at a time when it was in a transition state, and when it was perhaps harder to maintain its discipline and strength than at any former period. Directly after his election, Col. Post issued orders requiring the adoption of the army system of books and papers. Upton's tactics having been then introduced,\* he required the companies to drill by squads under the supervision of the lieutenant-colonel and major until they had learned them.

It was not until 1866 that the farce of requiring the officers of the National Guard to parade annually, in order to call the roll of the "un-uniformed militia," was abandoned. Up to that time all able-bodied citizens were supposed to be enrolled as members of this mysterious body, and were annually "warned" by notices, which they never saw, to appear at a specified spot and time for instruction. A National Guard officer was detailed to be at the place designated, to act as instructor, and was required to appear in uniform. All absentees were reported, and were fined \$2, which fine was collected by a marshal, usually to the intense disgust of the delinquent, and went to pay the expenses of the uniformed troops, taking the place of the annual appropriation for military purposes now made by the State. It is said that upon a certain occasion one man "appeared for instruction," with the result that the officer assigned to the district was so startled at this departure from established custom that he did not know what to do with him. The officer compromised, however, by asking the man to take a drink, and then excused him. The law was absurd and extremely unpopular, and its repeal was beneficial to the National Guard.

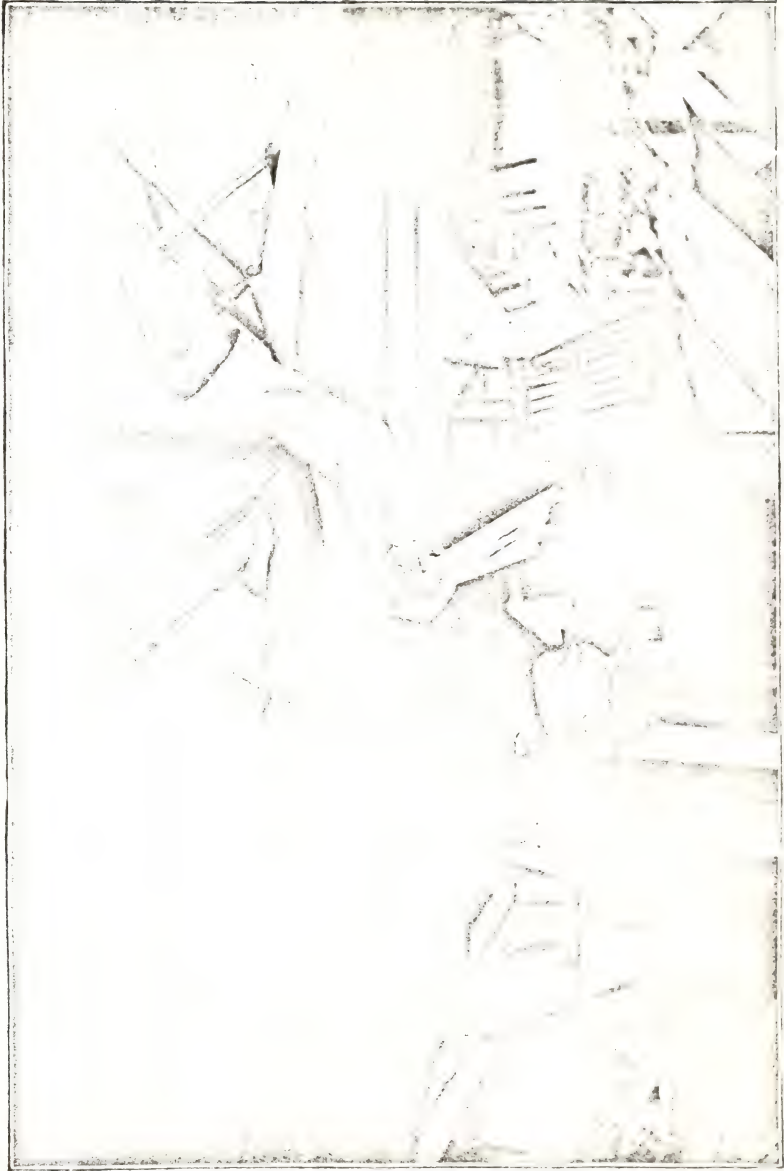
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\* See Chap. XXXV. Changes in tactics, page 372 post.





STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM J. HARDING.



In January, 1867, Maj.-Gen. Alexander Shaler was appointed major-general commanding the First Division N. G., Gen. Sandford having been retired, and Gen. Aspinwall resumed the command of the Fourth Brigade. Gen. Shaler was not only an old National Guardsman, but had commanded a division of volunteers. He at once proceeded to put the division upon a military footing in regard to its orders and correspondence, a matter to which no attention whatever had been paid under Gen. Sandford's placid reign. By a division order issued February 26, 1867, official letters were required to be sent through the regular channels, and the rules in force at the time of this writing (1895), in regard to books and papers, were prescribed. This may be said to have been the first of the many steps that have been taken since the War at the different headquarters to increase the discipline and efficiency of the National Guard, which have resulted in making it a very different organization from what it had previously been.

In February, 1867, the Twenty-second was able to procure the issue of muzzle-loading Springfield rifles, .58 calibre with triangular bayonets, in place of the Enfields, with sword bayonets, which it had carried so long, and the want of uniformity in which had been a source of constant annoyance. These Springfields would now be regarded as an antiquated weapon, but the change was then considered a great improvement. The use of the new rifle necessarily required the adoption of a new manual of arms.\*

The muzzle-loading Springfield was carried by the regiment until 1871, when the .50 calibre breech-loading

\* See Chap. XXXV., page 374 post.



Remington was substituted by the State. This rifle was selected by a board consisting of Adj.-Gen. Franklin Townsend and Maj.-Gen. John B. Woodward, after a series of elaborate tests, as the simplest and best fitted for the uses of the National Guard of any that were presented to it. The board reported that its members preferred the .45 calibre to the .50, but as they were informed by the authorities of the Regular Army that there was no intention upon their part to change the calibre of the Springfield (then .50), they considered the importance of arming the National Guard of New York with a rifle of the same calibre as that used by the Regular Army to be so great that they surrendered their own preferences and recommended that the new rifle should be of the army calibre.

It is a striking commentary upon Regular Army management that within a brief period after the State of New York, in reliance upon this official assertion, had purchased and armed its National Guard with rifles of this calibre, the War Department adopted a new rifle having the very .45 calibre which the State Board reluctantly abandoned because the United States Ordnance Department had informed it that it intended to retain the .50. In fact, in the publication known as "Ordnance Memoranda No. 15—Small Arms" (1873) there appears at page 402 an official report from the officers at Frankfort, that after a thorough test of different calibres it had been ascertained that "no superiority over the present service calibre (.50) has been obtained." The effect of this official statement, that whatever is "official" cannot be improved upon, is somewhat marred by the insertion in the same volume



of the report of the Hancock Board that their experiments showed that the .45 was far superior to the .50, and recommending its substitution as the regulation calibre, a conclusion which any National Guardsman familiar with small arms would have recognized as too plain for discussion.

The adoption of the Remington created a great discussion throughout a portion of the National Guard. Much opposition was displayed against it in many quarters. Col. Austen of the Brooklyn Thirteenth was prominent in this and publicly and repeatedly denounced the new breech-loader as unsafe and not fit to place in the hands of his men. The Twenty-second, however, as has been its custom, took the rifles issued to it without comment or criticism, and thereby avoided making itself ridiculous.

On August 12, 1868, the Twenty-second went into camp at Long Branch for a week. This was more like a picnic than a camp. The attendance was sparse and there was but little drilling. Most of the available time not devoted to having "a good time" was occupied in rifle practice, all, of course, at 200 yards, off hand. Companies A and H here showed the benefit of the instruction they had previously received from their captains\* by winning most of the prizes, a feat which did much to induce the other companies to adopt the system under which they had been instructed. The ladies staying at Long Branch showed their appreciation of the social qualities of the regiment by procuring a handsome testimonial, which was presented to the Twenty-second on their behalf by Atty.-Gen. Brewster

\* See Chap. XXXVII. Inauguration of rifle practice, page 386 post.





of Pennsylvania, at a concert given by the regiment on December 10, 1868.

Col. Post resigned Sept 12, 1868, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Col. William W. Remmey, Maj. Josiah Porter being elected lieutenant-colonel and Capt. John T. Camp (Company E) major.



COLONEL WM. W. REMMEY.

Col. Remmey was a very small man, with a complexion like that of a girl, but he was "a soldier all through." He had been a private in the Federal Chasseurs, and had joined Company B with them. He had served in this company through all the grades, and finally became its captain. As such, he had built up Company B until it had become the strongest and one



of the best companies in the regiment, and had established himself as the idol of his men. He was elected lieutenant-colonel in 1867. He was full of tact and a man of sound judgment, and managed the business matters of the regiment admirably and without controversy or friction. Col. Remmey was an expert drill-master and had a powerful and sonorous voice, which could be heard without difficulty above the noise of a battalion drill. He took great pride in the regiment, and greatly advanced its drill and general condition during the period that he held the office of colonel, spending almost every evening at the armory. There he contracted a cold which settled upon his lungs, and, being neglected, passed into consumption, which compelled him to resign, greatly to the regret of the regiment. He died in 1875 from this disease, greatly mourned by all who had served with or under him, and his funeral was largely attended by the officers and ex-officers and men of the Twenty-second.

While in command, Col. Remmey encouraged the instruction of the companies in rifle-practice, and in May, 1869, took the regiment to Sing Sing, where the men were given a day's practice in firing at 200 yards.\* The skill there displayed would not now be considered great, but it was a vast improvement over anything that had ever before been shown. He also caused an exhibition drill of the regiment to be given on January 19, 1869, before the State Military Association, at which it earned a great deal of reputation.

In December, 1868, orders were issued that twelve taps upon the fire bell were to be a signal at which all

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\* See Chap. XXXVII., page 390 post.



the officers and men were to at once report to the armory for riot duty.

Col. Remmey resigned in July, 1869, and in October Lieut.-Col. Josiah Porter was elected colonel, Maj. John T. Camp lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. David S. Brown major. Wm. J. Harding, afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-second, later of the Thirteenth, and subsequently colonel and assistant inspector-general of the State, was appointed adjutant. Col. Porter retained the position until 1885, when he was appointed adjutant-general of the State, a position which he held until his death, December 14, 1894.

During his firm and efficient rule, the Twenty-second gradually abandoned whatever of "ante-bellum militia" ideas that it possessed and substituted army habits.

General Porter was of medium size, rather thick set, with dark complexion and a square jaw, which showed the determination and force of character which were his especial characteristics.

He entered military life as a private in the Boston Cadets, then became first-lieutenant in the Boston City Guard and afterwards adjutant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston. He was commissioned April, 1861, as first-lieutenant in Battery A (First Massachusetts Battery), of which he became captain July, 1861, and saw hard service in the Army of the Potomac. He became captain of Company G in the Twenty-second January 13, 1865, major May 10, 1867, lieutenant-colonel January 30, 1869. As a company officer he was quiet and made no particular reputation beyond that of a good, reliable captain and a thorough gentleman, but he was a most efficient colonel.



During the sixteen years that he commanded the Twenty-second, he quietly effected an entire change in its methods and ideas. Up to that period, great attention had been paid by it to the social part of National Guard life. The regiment was continually giving receptions, balls and concerts, and going upon excursions. These were very pleasant, but involved large expenditures and great labor to little purpose from both officers and men. They also tended to distract their attention from military matters. But under Col. Porter's administration these customs were almost entirely dropped. The motto adopted was, "When we are soldiers, let us be soldiers and nothing else." The standing of the army in drill and discipline was set up as the goal to be reached, and every effort was made to attain it.

Col. Porter was peculiarly fortunate in the selection of his adjutant. William J. Harding was then a private in Company B. He had served throughout the entire War in the Armies of the Potomac and the James and in South Carolina, Florida, and Texas, rising from the ranks to the position of adjutant, and captain, finally becoming assistant adjutant-general and assistant inspector-general of the First Division Twenty-fifth Corps. He enlisted in Company B of the Twenty-second July 14, 1867. He served as adjutant until January 7, 1873, when he was elected captain of Company B. He resigned January 20, 1876, was reappointed adjutant August 1, 1877, and held the position until February 8, 1886, when he was elected lieutenant-colonel, which position he held until July, 1888.

In addition to the extended practical military experience Adjt. Harding had acquired in the field, he was





a hard worker, a good organizer, and an admirable instructor.

No time was lost by Col. Porter in effecting the improvements in the regiment that he considered necessary. In the order (General Order 15, November 11, 1869) issued by him assuming the command and announcing his staff, he required that the fatigue uniform should be at the armory whenever a parade was ordered to be made in full dress, prescribed that all official communications should be addressed to the adjutant, and re-established the board for the examination of non-commissioned officers, which was to consist of Lieut.-Col. Camp, Maj. Brown and Adj. Harding, and was to sit monthly. He also ordered special drills of the non-commissioned officers, and directed that all company drills should be supervised by a field officer, who was to give special attention to securing uniformity of drill throughout the regiment. He also urged that "aiming drill" should be practiced in all the companies. Prior to the inspection of 1869 an order was also issued prescribing every detail of the ceremony, the effect of which was to make it pass off with unusual smoothness. This was repeated at each subsequent inspection for a number of years. In April, 1871, a regimental "recruit class," under charge of Adj. Harding, was established, and the company "awkward squads" were abolished. This continued throughout Col. Porter's administration and proved a great success. The company squads were usually too small to secure the best instruction, and the inevitable tendency was to push the recruits into the ranks of the company as soon after their enlistment as possible. Each company squad, under the old system,



also acquired a somewhat different standard of drill and military efficiency. With a regimental class of instruction, this was all done way with. No recruit was permitted to drill or parade with his company for any purpose until he had graduated from the regimental class and had received a certificate of proficiency, and had, in fact, become a good soldier. The drill was thorough, progressive, systematic, and uniform, great stress being laid upon discipline and military courtesies, both of which can be better impressed upon the mind of a soldier during his first period of service than at any other time.

The effect was soon perceptible upon the regiment, the graduates from the class proving to be better soldiers than the old members of their companies, who had been taught under the former system. Among those who thus received from Adj. Harding the foundations of their military education was Gen. Fred. S. McLewee, now Inspector-General of the State, then a private in Company F in the Twenty-second; and not many years since a majority of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Twenty-second were graduates of these regimental squads or of Adj. Harding's schools of theoretical instruction. So thoroughly was this supervision of the recruits carried out, that regular quarterly reports were made by Adj. Harding to the Board of Officers of the regiment, showing the gain and loss in each company and the character of the recruits which were being obtained. A school for officers was also established.

An entirely new system of regimental and company books, records and files was also prepared under Adj. Harding's personal directions, old orders hunted up and



copied, and every endeavor made to put the records and archives of the regiment in the very best condition, and to replace what had been destroyed by the fire at headquarters, or what had not been preserved. These efforts were steadily carried out, according to a well-defined plan, for a number of years, the officers' school being conducted by Col. Porter in person, and that for the non-commissioned officers by Adjt. Harding. The giving and returning of salutes was especially enforced.

In 1877 Col. Porter had devised a system of street-riot drill. This was put into tactical form by Adjt. Harding, and was prescribed for the regiment in General Order 14, June 10, 1878. The Twenty-second were frequently drilled in this system, especially during the period in 1878 when there was an apprehension of a riot. This system was afterwards adopted by California, and was much like that afterwards officially adopted in New York and other States. In it the command was formed in double column, the front and rear companies protected the flanks by forming front into line, the interior companies obliquing outward, following and covering the outer flanks of the leading companies. In forming square, the front company halted, the flank companies formed outward by fours, and the rear company wheeled "fours about." Col. Porter instituted the system of having blank printed orders always kept on hand in the armory, directing the immediate assembling of the regiment in case of necessity. All drills were required to be conducted according to a prescribed and progressive method, and were carefully inspected. So quietly and firmly were these innovations made, that, although there was at times some discontent,



it proved to be but a trifle and soon disappeared. Their effect was to add largely to the efficiency and reputation of the Twenty-second, and to give it *esprit du corps* which it had not had for many years. It is upon the traditions and system established by Gen. Porter that the Twenty-second is now being managed. When, upon his promotion to the Adjutant-Generalcy of the State, the Twenty-second was deprived of his guiding hand, the regiment felt like a child that has lost its father.

The following tribute to the memory of Gen. Porter by Col. Church, who, as the editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, had been for years familiar with his work, shows the great estimation in which he was held by military men :

#### ADJUTANT-GENERAL PORTER.

We give here an article prepared by the editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, at the request of the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and which appeared in the current number of the *Weekly*. We may say, in reference to what is quoted from Gen. Rodenbough and Capt. Field, that every officer of the Regular Army who has, during recent years, visited the New York State Camp, as a representative of the War Department, has borne like enthusiastic testimony to Gen. Porter's ability. These reports were recently sent to the Governor-elect of New York by Adj.-Gen. Ruggles, U. S. A., with an indorsement of like tenor. Gen. Porter was deeply touched by these testimonials to his work, as he was by what was said of him by his successor in office, on the occasion named. Almost his last words, before he relapsed into unconsciousness on that night, were in acknowledgment of Gen. McAlpin's courtesy.

At an entertainment given on Wednesday night, December 12, 1864, by Company G of the Seventh Regiment of New York National Guard, I sat at the table opposite to Maj.-Gen. Josiah Porter, whose ninth year of service as adjutant-general of the State of New York was then drawing to its





close—a service extending over the terms of three Governors. Gen. Porter was a pleasant dinner companion, but he was unusually silent on this occasion, and when he spoke briefly, in response to a toast in his honor, his mind did not appear to work with its usual freedom. The current of life which was so soon to cease its flow was even then moving sluggishly.

Within an hour from that time Gen. Porter lay prostrated by a stroke of apoplexy in the elevated railroad car carrying him to his home. His companion, Mr. Leach, could obtain no help from sympathetic fellow-travellers, or railroad employees, to enable him to properly care for the stricken soldier, and the only couch vouchsafed to the helpless man was the hard platform of the railroad station, where the brakeman had deposited him as the train hurried on into the darkness. Experience with midnight revellers had made them skeptical of the assurances that this was a case of severe illness. Assistance was finally obtained, and the General was carried to his home near by, and there he died on the following Friday, two days after his attack.

By the side of Gen. Porter, at the entertainment referred to, sat the gentleman chosen by Gov. Morton to succeed him in office, Gen. McAlpin, and almost the last recollections of Gen. Porter's life must have been the generous and hearty words of praise bestowed upon him by the man into whose hands he would on the first of the coming January have surrendered his office, had not death given him a still earlier discharge from the responsibilities he had borne so well. No post-prandial words of praise were ever more truthfully or more opportunely spoken than those by Gen. McAlpin. Gen. Porter was, he declared, the best adjutant-general the State of New York had ever had. Certainly he was the best one I have known in an experience of thirty years. To his ideals of soldierly duty, to his instinctive hostility to martial humbug, and to his quiet but persistent effort to rid the Guard of those parasitic growths of civilian pretence which sap the life of militia organizations, is largely due the efficiency of the New York State troops. He realized the responsibilities that go with the solemn sanction to wield the sword of State, and sought in every way to fit the men under him for the possibilities of actual service. He had learned by large experience the character of the men and the organizations he controlled, and he led them as far as he could, and further than anyone else ever has in the right direction, choosing for his standards those of the Regular Army.

Gen. Porter's fidelity to duty was an ancestral inheritance, for he came of the sturdy New England colonial stock. He was born under the shadow of old Harvard, from which he was graduated, and his last resting-place will be near his early home in Cambridge, Mass. He was, in his youth, one of the few who devoted themselves to military studies at a time when the unthinking were saying, as they are once more saying, that there was no more prospect of war in this country "than there is of a man's going to heaven without dying." He served before our Civil War as a private of



the Boston Cadets, as second lieutenant in the Boston City Guard, and as adjutant of the famous Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston.

When war came young Porter hastened to put his military training to account, and he was, in April, 1861, mustered into the service of the United States as first lieutenant of the First Massachusetts Battery (Battery A, Massachusetts Volunteer Artillery), and was promoted to captain in July, 1861. Porter's battery was assigned to the Army of the Potomac under Gen. McClellan, and it soon achieved reputation as one of the most efficient volunteer batteries in the service. Its record at Gaines's Mills, at Frazier's Farm, during the "seven days' battle" at Antietam, at the Second Bull Run, and elsewhere, is part of the history of that time, when true manhood was developed so rapidly in the fierce school of war.

After his discharge from the military service, Porter established himself in New York as a practicing attorney, and was appointed to the bench. But his interest in military matters continued, and he was, in 1865, commissioned a captain in the Twenty-second New York Regiment, being successively promoted to major, lieutenant-colonel, and, finally, to colonel, in 1869. He brought this command to such a high state of efficiency that in 1882 it was placed by the assistant inspector-general, Gen. T. F. Rodenbough, of the Regular Army, at the head of all the regiments in the State in point of general excellence, the Seventh New York following next. "As a whole," said Gen. Rodenbough, of this command, "it approaches more nearly to the standard of the true soldier than any command in the State. Its colonel (Porter) is especially able and competent. The review and dress parade were, without exception, the finest I ever saw as to alignments, distances, manual and perfect steadiness." Similar high praise was given by another officer of the Regular Army who inspected the regiment, Capt. Field, Fourth Artillery. "Calm dignity," said this authority, "sound judgment, and quiet inflexibility were the characteristics of Col. Porter. I have seen nothing that approached his scientific methods."

The application of the characteristics here referred to, his higher duties as adjutant-general, is the secret of Gen. Porter's success in that office. The reforms he introduced into the administration of military affairs in the State of New York make his administration an era in the history of the National Guard. He had the soldier's directness and simplicity of character, and his estimate of the relative importance of soldierly efficiency and mere military display was in accord with the best standards.

Without obtrusive good fellowship Gen. Porter was a genial gentleman among those with whom he was familiar, and his genuine ability made unnecessary a display of reserve toward those over whom he held authority. He was always approachable, and his ends were accomplished by quiet force of character rather than by a display of authority.

He was buried on Monday, December 17, with military honors, his body being accompanied to the railroad station from St. Andrew's Episcopal



Church by Troop A, the Twenty-second Regiment, his old command, and the First New York Battery.

WM. CONANT CHIEF OF STAFF.

#### GEN. PORTER'S FUNERAL.\*

The funeral of Adjt.-Gen. Josiah Porter, by request of his family, was conducted as simply as possible, and the military honors were confined merely to those prescribed in regulations. But for this request, Gen. Louis Fitzgerald would, in pursuance of the authority invested in him by the Commander-in-Chief, have ordered out both the First and Second Brigades. The ceremonies were held on the afternoon of December 17, the services being held in St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, 127th Street and Fifth Avenue. The Twenty-second Regiment, Col. Camp; the First Battery, Capt. Wendel, and Troop A, Capt. Roe, were detailed at the funeral as escort. Full-dress uniform and overcoats were worn, and the commanding officers of the escort reported to the brigade chief-of-staff, Col. Olin, at 2:20 P. M., on Fifth Avenue, at the corner of 127th Street. James Monroe Post, 607 G. A. R., of which the General was a member, were also present among the many assembled to pay their last respects. The ceremonies were simple but impressive, and it is doubtful if in the history of the National Guard of New York there has been so large and representative a body of guardsmen at the funeral of a deceased member. The arrangements at the church were admirable. Gen. Fitzgerald, who had charge of the funeral, detailed Capt. N. B. Thurston, of the Twenty-second Regiment, to take charge of the seating, and 2,700 people were seated as pre-arranged, without any confusion whatsoever. By request of the family there was no military escort with the body from Gen. Porter's residence to the church; and the remains on arriving at the church were received with honor; but, by further request of Gen. Porter's family, the coffin was conveyed in and out of the church by the undertaker's assistants, and was taken to the train in a hearse instead of on a caisson. As the coffin was to be opened again at Cambridge it was thought this course was deemed advisable, as least likely to disturb the remains. The pall-bearers were Gen. James McLeer, of the Second Brigade; Gen. Robert Shaw Oliver, of the Third, and Gen. Peter C. Doyle of the Fourth; Brig.-Gen. Joseph D. Bryant, Surgeon-General; Gen. J. M. Varian, Chief of Ordnance, and Gen. Ferdinand P. Earl, Chief of Artillery. Among those in the church were the family of the deceased; Major-Gen. N. A. Miles, U. S. A.; Gov. Flower and staff, Gen. L. Fitzgerald and staff, Gen. James McLeer and staff, Gen. R. S. Oliver and staff, Gen. P. C. Doyle and staff, all of New York; Gen. Stryker of New Jersey, and the staff of Gov.-elect Morton; Col. Appleton and all the officers of the Seventh Regiment; Col. Welch and staff of the Sixty-fifth Regiment; Col. Fitch and staff, Tenth Battalion; Col. Butt and other officers of the Twelfth Regiment; all the other colonels and staffs in

\* Army and Navy Journal.



the First and Second Brigades were present and in uniform, besides many other line officers from different parts of the State. The colonel of the Ninth Regiment was the only regimental commanding officer who was not present with his staff in uniform. He attended, but in civilian's dress. A large number of ex-officers and members of the Twenty-second, who had served with and under General Porter, together with a number of ex-officers of other regiments, were also present. After the service the body was exposed to view. The General was attired in the full uniform of his rank, and at his throat was pinned the State long and faithful service medal, issued for twenty-five years' service. This medal, by the courtesy of Messrs. Tiffany & Co., the jewellers who received the contract from the State for manufacturing the new decorations, was hurried forward, and the deceased General was the first to receive it. Besides the above, there were on the General's coat a Grand Army of the Republic badge and the twenty-year service medal of the Twenty-second Regiment, pinned over his heart. The body was carried from the church to the hearse with the dead soldier's flag, hat and sword lying on the casket. His horse, fully caparisoned, with boots in reversed stirrups, was led by a colored attendant. The funeral cortege marched to Fifth Avenue, to 124th Street, to Madison Avenue, to Ninetieth Street, to Fifth Avenue, to the Grand Central Station, where there was a special train waiting to take the body to Boston. The body was buried on December 18, in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass., Insp.-Gen. McGrath, now adjutant-general, and Asst. Insp.-Gen. Harding accompanying the remains.







## CHAPTER XXXV.

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### CHANGES IN TACTICS.

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THE Twenty-second began its military instruction under "Hardie's Tactics," which, like those of Scott (which they had supplanted), were an adaptation from the French. That nation was then recognized, as the Germans now are, as the highest military authority, and its example was therefore followed in drill and uniform, as is the case now with German ideas.

Col. Hardie having become a prominent general in the Confederate Army, "Union sentiment" would not tolerate that any system that bore his name should be used to instruct the Northern forces. Consequently, early in 1862 a system prepared by Gen. Silas Casey, U. S. A., was adopted by the War Department in place of "Hardie." Gen. Casey's work, like that of Lieut.-Col. Hardie, was an adaptation from the French. In fact, it differed but little from "Hardie." In both there was no manœuvring in single rank. In forming column of fours, facing to the right, after facing in that direction, the odd-numbered men of the rear rank stepped one pace to the right of their file leaders, and the even-numbered men placed themselves upon the right of the odd-numbered men of the same rank. In facing to the left, the even-numbered rank men stepped



each to the left of their front rank men, and the odd-numbered men stepped to the left of the even-numbered men. As the position of each man was different in each facing, a company needed to be well drilled that could "face clear around" without some man in the ranks making a mistake as to his position and causing confusion. There was an arbitrary front and rear and right and left which continued at all times without regard to what was the actual front or right. Consequently, movements by battalion, when faced to the rear (when the actual right was the left and the actual front was the rear, and which was termed manoeuvring "by inversion"), were excessively complicated, an elaborate series of movements being required to place a battalion into the position now obtained by a single "fours left about." The consequence was that even in cases of emergency in actual service, a commanding officer would countermarch his regiment\* rather than to risk the confusion that might follow if he should manoeuvre it "faced to the rear."

When at Harper's Ferry the Twenty-second were drilled to some extent in Col. Monroe's systems of company drill and bayonet fencing, the latter of which was very good. Neither, however, was officially adopted.

About 1866 the regiment was instructed in "Morris' Tactics," an improvement upon Casey, written by Gen. Wm. H. Morris, United States Volunteers, and the principles of which bore some resemblance to those which were afterwards contained in "Upton." The regiment had hardly acquired a knowledge of this

\*To "countermarch" was to form into fours and file around the entire length of the front, until the left was where the right had previously been. If the line was long, this manoeuvre consumed considerable time.



new system when, in 1867, it was displaced by the adoption of "Upton's Tactics." These, for the first time, apparently, introduced the "wheel by fours," and made many other simplifications in drill which were so clearly consistent with common sense that it is a matter of surprise why they had not always prevailed. "Upton" remained in force until the adoption of the "new drill-book" in 1892, a period of twenty-nine years.

In addition to the different systems of tactics which it has been required to learn and unlearn, the Twenty-second has had also to acquire a knowledge of three different manuals of arms. It was at first armed with the Enfield muzzle-loading rifle, with sabre bayonet. These rifles were shorter than the Government Springfield, so that in loading the butt was placed between the feet instead of in rear of the left foot. The manual of the bayonet was peculiar, and the rifles would not "stack" securely. When the Springfield muzzle-loaders were adopted the manual was of necessity altered, only to be changed again when the Remington breech-loader was adopted in 1870.

As the regiment was also instructed in artillery drill when behind the works in Harper's Ferry in 1862, it will be seen that the experiences of its older officers in the matter of acquiring different styles of drill have been varied, if not instructive.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

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### CHANGES IN UNIFORMS.

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ON October 28, 1863, a review and inspection, in full uniform, of the Twenty-second was held in Washington Square by Gen. Ewen. This was the first appearance that the regiment had made in full uniform for a considerable period.

The adoption by the Confederates of a gray uniform had created a prejudice in the North against that color. The "strawberry gray," \* which was almost the same as the uniform of the Confederate artillery, was practically abandoned after the Harper's Ferry campaign of 1862; and on September 29, 1862, after its return from the front, the regiment adopted the "Chasseur" uniform. This consisted of a dark-blue short-skirted tunic, with sky-blue edgings, shoulder-straps and cuffs, and loose sky-blue trousers of the "peg-top" or French pattern, fourteen inches larger at the waist than the actual measure, and plaited at the waistband, and a dark-blue fatigue cap or kepi, with the seams edged with light-blue cord. This uniform cost \$16, and the cap \$2. The officers adopted the uniform of the Regular Army.

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\* Page 18, Chapter II. First uniforms, arms and officers.





While serving in the field in Pennsylvania, the regiment left its Chasseur uniform in the knapsacks of the men at Bridgeport, and on the march across the State wore its blue cap, with the Army blouse and trousers, as it had done at Harper's Ferry the preceding year. The officers used the regimental blue cap, with the fatigue uniform of the Regular Army.



STATUETTE OF  
FATIGUE UNIFORM.

On November 6, 1863, the Twenty-second adopted epaulets for the rank and file, made of mazarine blue cloth, with a scroll and "22" in silver on the top, and having a white fringe. The officers wore gilt epaulets.

Capt. Howland (Company G) having suggested the word "Defendam" as a regimental motto, it was formally adopted on December 1, 1863.

In October, 1864, the regiment adopted "Short's patent knapsack." This was made upon scientific principles, so that the weight depended upon a yoke on the shoulders. It was kept in position by two short arms on each side of the waist, thus avoiding the use of any straps across the chest. It was the only comfortable knapsack the Twenty-second ever carried, until it adopted the "Merriam pack" in 1895.

The first aid the Twenty-second had received in the way of furnishing it with uniforms (except the fatigue issued by the Government in service) was in December, 1864, when, in order to encourage recruiting, the Inspector-General authorized the issue of 200 Chasseur



STATE HISTORIAN'S OFFICE,  
ALBANY, N. Y.



FIELD AND STAFF OF TWENTY-SIXTH, 1869, IN "SWALLOW TAIL" DRUM ENSEMBLE AND ENSEMBLE CAP.

U. S. ARMY, 1869.

ADJ. GEN. J. H. HARRIS.

1869.

ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF.

CHIEF OF STAFF, 1869.



uniforms for the use of the regiment, consisting of jacket, trousers and cap. The contract price paid by the State for these uniforms was less than that which was required to purchase the quality of uniform then worn by the regiment. The difference was paid by the men receiving them. This issue was a great help to recruiting. It marks the beginning of the new era when the State began to recognize its obligation to uniform the National Guard. It was only just that it should do so. Yet it is by no means certain that it was entirely advantageous. Where men can join the National Guard without its costing them anything, many become members who have not that military feeling which is indispensable to make them good soldiers. They soon tire of the restraint, become lax in the performance of their duty, and court martials and expulsions become common. On the other hand, those who are sufficiently interested to purchase their uniforms, while, perhaps, comparatively few in number, are enthusiastic and faithful soldiers. It is as if they had a certain amount of capital invested in their company and regiment. Probably the medium course is best—for the State to issue the fatigue uniform, and contribute towards the cost of the dress coat, and for the men themselves to pay the difference.

About this time also the regiment received from the State payment for the uniforms that had been expended in field service at the rate of \$11 per man.

On August 1, 1865, the present regimental pin was adopted. A dress hat, or shako, similar to that now (1895) worn by the Seventh, was adopted January 12, 1867, having a bronze device in front, designed by the



writer, much like the pin, and having the figures "22" in the centre. This hat had a plume of white horsehair falling forward nearly to the visor, with a blue worsted ball at its base, and was set in a gilt socket. White duck gaiters, nine inches long, were also added to the uniform, and white trousers, to be worn in summer, without the gaiters. The field officers adopted a white heron plume. The long, drooping horsehair plume being found to throw too much weight on the forehead, it was, in 1868, converted into something like a shaving brush by cutting off the falling part. In 1869 a drooping plume of white swan's feathers, with a blue top, was substituted.

At this time the officers wore the regulation blue frock coat, with wide light-blue trousers and white "spats." On March 15, 1867, they also adopted for fatigue a round, visorless cap, such as is worn in the English army. This was smart and soldier-like, but, as it did not shade the eyes, a peak was afterwards added. This uniform was neat, comfortable and soldierly, but made the rank and file appear short and ungraceful, and was therefore not popular. A more stylish-looking dress uniform being desired, a committee was appointed, in June, 1868, which, after long deliberation, submitted several samples. A dark-blue frock coat, not unlike the present (1895) State coat, was approved by the Board of Officers, and also by a divided regimental vote, but finally, in January, 1869, this action was, unfortunately, reconsidered, and an entirely different uniform was adopted by an almost unanimous vote of the different companies. It will be well for future dress committees to know that the reason for this was that the new uni-





form, when exhibited to the regiment, was worn by Samuel E. Briggs (afterward captain of Company A), who had a fine soldierly bearing and figure, which made the uniform look much better than it afterwards appeared when worn by the regiment. This uniform consisted of a dark-blue swallow-tail coat, with light-blue trimmings; light-blue trousers, cut straight, with a white stripe; dress hat; plume, white swan's feathers, tipped with blue (adopted May, 1869); white epaulets, white belt and gloves. Its cost was \$43. The fatigue uniform consisted of a dark-blue fatigue jacket, Chasseur trousers, blue cap, leggins and black belt. At this period it may be remarked that almost every man wore boots, instead of shoes. The boot-legs did much to interfere with the appearance of the leggins.

In February, 1869, the wearing of white leggins by the officers was abandoned, and they also adopted gilt in place of black belts. The first parade in this uniform was made in September, 1869. The plume of white feathers, tipped with blue, which had been adopted in place of the "shaving brush," proved to be unsatisfactory, and in January, 1871, a white pompon was substituted.

This uniform was retained until January 24, 1876, when the regiment adopted the white double-breasted frock coat and blue trousers, with black stripe, which it wears at the time of this writing (1895). The swallow-



STATUETTE OF  
DRESS UNIFORM.















